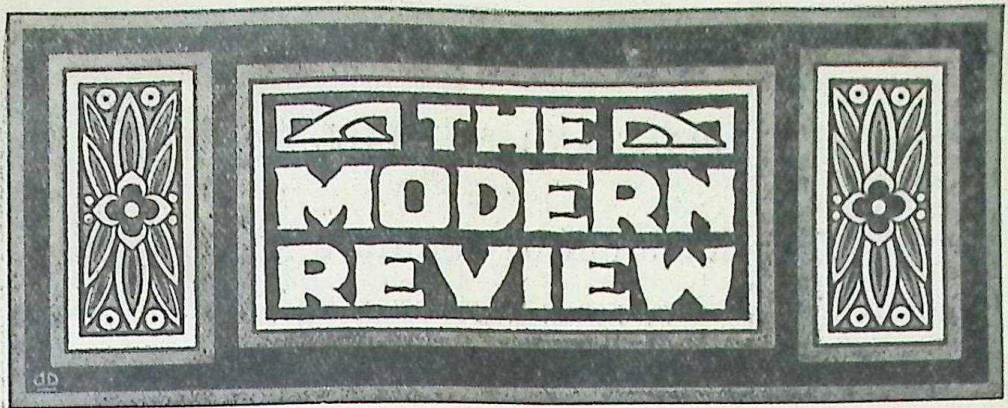




THE PAST AND THE FUTURE  
By Mr. Sudhīr Ranjan Khastagīr







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## MESSAGE TO THE WORLD LEAGUE FOR PEACE

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

A literal translation of the letter addressed to the  
Poet by the Director of the World League for Peace, Geneva.

Ligue Mondiale pour la Paix. Geneve, le 13 juin, 1928.

Honoured Sir,

Be pleased to permit us to approach you through the esteemed personality of Monsieur Romain Rolland, to pray that you be gracious enough to grant us an autograph for the Golden Book of Peace.

This work will consist of reproductions of the thoughts on peace from the most illustrious personages and the most eminent writers of each country.

We have received, up to this day, for this book, over 270 documents, among which are the autographs of Messrs. Heriot, Briand, Paul-Boncour, Poincare, Briens, Marcel Prevost, Chamberlain, Stressemann, Ador, Henri Barbusse, Maurice Donnay, Vandervelde, Charles Richet, Quidde and others.

We pray that you believe, Honoured Sir, that we shall consider it a very great disappointment if you do not consent to honour the Golden Book of Peace with some reflexion emanating from your great heart.

We feel sure that you will undoubtedly approve of our effort and that you will contribute to its moral success by letting us have a few lines that we solicit from your generosity.

Be kind enough, honoured monsieur, to accept the expression of our great admiration and the assurance of our profound gratitude.

(Sd-) Georges Dejean, Director, Ligue Mondiale pour la Paix.

A piece of vellum was sent for an autographed message from the Poet and he wrote the following lines and signed it both in English and Bengali :—

In our political ritualism, we still worship the tribal god of our own make and try to appease it with human blood. This fetishism is blindly primitive and angers truth that leads to death-dealing conflicts. To many of us it seems that this blood-stained idolatry is a permanent part of human nature. But we know in our past history, there have been things born of dark unreason producing phantoms of fear in our mind and ferocity of suspicion. Within the boundaries of night they also had loomed large and appeared as everlasting. But a great many of them have already vanished, making the social life of a fruitful peace possible in civilised communities.

Let us, to-day, by the strength of our own faith prove that the homicidal orgies of a cannibalistic politics are doomed, inspite of contradictions that seem overwhelmingly formidable.

Rabindranath Tagore

(Bengali signature)

The above was written on the morning of the 30th of September.



# UNITARIANS AND THE HALL OF FAME

OR

## THE RELIGION OF EMINENT MEN

BY JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

**W**HY does the American National Hall of Fame contain the names of so many Unitarians?

This question is not one of idle curiosity. There is in it a lesson which may well be pondered by all churches and all persons who care for religion.

No other single event connected with the celebration (in April and May, 1925) of the Centenary of American Unitarianism was so picturesque as the march (Sunday afternoon, April 19th) of the great procession of men, women, and children, through the long corridor of the Hall of Fame in New York, when a group of little girls, dressed in white as the procession advanced placed wreaths of flowers on the busts or the tablets of the *twenty-two eminent Unitarians* who had places there among the nation's most honored dead.

What is the whole number of names in the Hall of Fame, and what proportion do the Unitarians bear to the whole? The answer is, the total number is sixty-five and therefore the twenty-two Unitarians form a little more than one-third of all.

The names of these twenty-two (arranged alphabetically) are:

John Adams  
John Quincy Adams  
Louis Agassiz  
George Bancroft  
William Cullen Bryant  
William Ellery Channing  
Peter Cooper  
Charlotte Saunders Cushman  
Ralph Waldo Emerson  
Benjamin Franklin  
Nathaniel Hawthorne  
Oliver Wendell Holmes  
Thomas Jefferson  
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow  
James Russell Lowell  
Horace Mann  
John Marshall

Maria Mitchell  
John Lothrop Motley  
Francis Parkman  
Joseph Story  
Daniel Webster

Is it not astonishing, that a group or body of religious people so small in numbers as the Unitarian Church should furnish so large a proportion of the men and women who are acclaimed by the nation as its greatest sons and daughters? Is there not some mistake about it?

If we turn to the census of the churches, perhaps that will help us. The 1924-25 issue of the Year Book of the Churches, edited by Dr. E. O. Watson, secretary of the Washington office of the Federal Council of Churches gives the total membership of Protestant churches in this country, in 1923, as 48,224,014, and the total membership of the Roman Catholic church as 18,260,793. Adding these we have 66,484,807 as the whole number of members of all the Christian churches in the United States. What is the total membership of the Unitarian churches? It is about 110,000, or one six-hundredth part of the whole church membership in the land. Yet, this very small fraction, this one six-hundredth part of our Christian population actually contributes, as we have seen, one-third of the names in our National Hall of Fame.

Turning now from the census of the churches to the census of the whole nation, what do we find there? We find something quite as favorable to Unitarianism; the total population of the country is about 110,000,000. Of these, the Unitarians (110,000) form about one-tenth of one per cent. Yet it is this one-thousandth part of the whole population of the country that has furnished between thirty-three and thirty-four per cent of the names in our Hall of Fame, and seventeen per cent of the Presidents of the United States.



Let us pursue our inquiry further still. Fortunately, one of our eminent American scientists has recently published book which throws very direct and very important light on the subject.

In his volume, "The Character of Races," issued in 1924, a work which gives the results of extensive scientific investigation of the causes which produce eminence or inferiority in races and in individual men, the author Dr. Ellsworth Huntington, of Yale University, calls attention to the remarkable number of distinguished men and women produced by the Unitarian Church. He says: "In proportion to their numbers the Unitarians, and especially their clergymen, have contributed a greater number of eminent leaders than has any other group of Americans for whom we have statistics." In the next paragraph he cites the fact mentioned above of the amazing disproportion of the Unitarian names in the Hall of Fame of New York University; and he adds: "The productivity of the Unitarians in supplying leaders of the first rank has been 150 times as great as that of the remainder of the population, while that of the Unitarian ministers has been nearly 1,500 times as great."

Since Professor Huntington wrote his facts, and conclusions have received confirmation from other sources. One of the most striking is that of investigations made by President Clarence Cook Little of the University of Michigan. On the 2nd of April, 1926, President Little gave an address before the Michigan Schoolmaster's Club, in which he affirmed his conviction that "intellectual leadership is closely connected with liberality in religion," and presented statistics which he had prepared, stating that persons belonging to various Christian denominations occur more or less frequently in "Who's Who in America" according to the liberality or illiberality of their creed.

President Little said that, using three letters of the alphabet, A, M. and W. he had tabulated four groups—medical men, scientists, authors or writers, and lawyers. The results, calculated on a percentage basis, when compared with the percentages of the various religious denominations in the whole United States, showed that Unitarians occur more than twenty-eight times as frequently as one would expect; Episcopalians ten and six-tenths times; congregationalists five and eight-tenths times; Universalists five and

five-tenths times, and Presbyterians three and five-tenths times; while in marked contrast with these Methodists occur only about three-fifths as many times as expected; Baptists a little more than two-fifths, and Roman Catholics between one-quarter and one-fifth.

The difference between denominations apparently is greater among scientists than among lawyers,—an interesting fact when one considers that science continually looks for new truths while law has for its chief duty the maintenance of the existing order. Thus, among the scientists, the Unitarians are found to be seventy times as numerous as expected, and the Congregationalists nine and four-tenths times; while the Catholics are only about one-fifth as many as their occurrence in the general population would indicate that they should be.\*

What is the explanation of these almost incredible facts?

"There is only one possible answer, as both Professor Huntington and President Little make clear.†

The explanation is the superiority of Liberal Religion, the superiority of the Unitarian Faith, as a creator of the independent thinking, of intellectual strength, of moral character, and therefore of fitness and power to lead in the nation's higher life.

In other words the explanation is to be found in the fact that Liberal Religion in all its forms, but especially Unitarianism, differs radically from all forms of "orthodoxy," in that far beyond them all it trusts reasons, encourages investigation in religion as well as everywhere else; looks upon thinking as a religious duty, as much a religious duty as believing, and necessary as a preliminary to all believing that is worth anything or safe; welcomes science; rejects all backward-looking and mind-fettering creeds, and all external authorities imposed by priests

\* It is worthy of notice in this connection, that when Sir Francis Felton, many years ago made his study of the scientific men of England published in 1874 in his "English Men of Science: Their Nature and Nurture", he found that a surprising number of them, a number out of all proportion to the whole, were sons of Unitarian ministers.

† "Perhaps it ought to be said, that neither of these two men is a Unitarian; both are associated with orthodox churches; hence they cannot well be suspected of bias in favour of Unitarianism..



*or churches; lifts the ethical above the theological, the practical above the ecclesiastical, deeds above profession; and dares to stand on its own feet and break new paths. These are exactly the qualities which modern Unitarianism in all its history has fostered and striven to develop in its people.*

These facts and deductions are pointed out in no spirit of boasting, or arrogance, or

self-praise, or as a "flourish of authority," but simply and only to make clear to the American people the extraordinary value of the principles, the ideas, the religion for which the Unitarian Church stands, in building up the higher intellectual and moral life of the nation, and in creating leadership in all that is best in Christian civilization.

## ART IN THE WEST AND THE EAST

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

### II

EUROPEAN writers in their references to Eastern art usually draw the line at Byzantium or Persia. Some writers have traced an affinity between Roman and Japanese arts. The land of the Chrysanthemum and the geisha has had a strong fascination for European travellers and holiday seekers, but no attempt was made to ascertain the indebtedness of Japanese and Chinese art to the ancient art of India. Much of the annals of Indo-Aryan civilisation is pre-historic but not mythic. History as such was never written by the Aryans, and their wisdom in this respect is justified by the doubtful truthfulness of many historical records. These ancient people in India recorded their thoughts on the tablets of their memory. So thoroughly saturated were their minds with a profound conviction of the illusory nature of the objective world, the evanescence of all worldly things and the transience of kingdoms and empires that neither dates nor history had any interest for them. The Hebrew Preacher said, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." This is an obvious truth but to the Aryans in India it was deep and real philosophy colouring all thought and governing every action in life. The original meaning of the Sanskrit word *itihāsa*, now translated as history, is tradition, and in this sense the great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and several of the ancient Sanskrit dramas are historical. Cities like Ayodhya, Indraprastha

and Hastinapur were not poetic inventions. Among the ruins around Delhi a mound of earth is still known as the site of Indraprastha, frequently named in the Mahabharata. In the same epic a detailed account is given of a splendid Assembly Hall built for the Pandava Princes.\*

Architecture is the earliest form of formative and decorative art. It is mentioned that the hall was ornamented with many pictures and the floor was so cunningly devised that it produced an optical delusion. The famous Rishi Narada, who was present as an honoured guest, gave King Yudhishtira elaborate descriptions of the assembly halls of some of the gods. In the *Mrichhakatikam* (Toy Cart) believed to be the oldest Sanskrit drama and supposed to have been written a hundred years before Christ, there is a minute and full account of seven chambers in the mansion of Vasantasena, the heroine. A man who has entered the house for the first time gives a description, beginning with the portico, or the various pictures and ornaments in the rooms. In the *Meghadutam*, or the Cloud Messenger, of the poet Kalidasa there is a wonderful, panoramic description of landscape, such as would be seen from an aeroplane sailing slowly over the country. Miniature paintings and likenesses from which an individual could be at once recognised

\* The Mahabharata, Sabha Parva.



are mentioned in the Puranas, dramas and other works.

Beyond these records there are no remnants, no ruins, no fragments of Indo-Aryan art of the Vedic or epic period, or even of the time of Vikramaditya, the patron of the famous nine intellectual gems, of whom the poet Kalidasa was the most brilliant, the promulgator of one of the two eras now in vogue in India. There is a wide gap of time between prehistoric Indo-Aryan culture and the remains of sculptural and other arts which are found at the present time. No real broad-minded lover or critic of art in the West of either the traditions or remnants of art in India had any opportunity of observation or study in the early period of British rule in India. Attention was first drawn to the evidences of Brahmanic and Buddhist art by departmental Anglo-Indian writers, whose attitude of ill-disguised contempt towards the past of India was emphasised by their ignorance. Departmental archaeologists and antiquarians could not forget that they belonged to a race which now rules India, and the sense of superiority obscured their judgment. Pronounced scepticism and even denial of the great antiquity of the Vedas, utter ignorance of Aryan philosophy and literature, and the contempt for a race of heathens influenced their pronouncements upon the relics of Indian art. From the sculptures of the Gandharan school, admittedly the work of inferior Graeco-Roman artists and artisans, official English archaeologists rushed to the conclusion that India never had any original art, and everything was borrowed from ancient Persia, Greece or Rome. With a little more ingenuity these critics might have urged that Aryan mythology is borrowed from the Greek, that Krishna is merely an imitation of the Greek Orpheus, that the Mahabharata is a clever plagiarism from Homer, and, to complete the *reductio ad absurdum*, it may be maintained, with a sovereign contempt for chronological sequence, that the doctrine of *maya* must have been borrowed from Berkeley.

High above these pinchback professors of art and brummagen archaeologists stands John Ruskin, whose voice is heard as that of a preacher and prophet in his immortal books and of whom no one can speak without admiration and reverence. Ruskin himself wrote that he had seen every stone of Venice, but of Indian art he had seen

nothing beyond the careless and unrepresentative collection of worthless modern work scattered about in the British and South Kensington Museums. The great writer had never heard of the sculptures of Elephanta and Ellora, the paintings of Ajanta and the works of Indian art in Ceylon and Java. The poor specimens that he saw he designated as "barbarous grotesque of mere savageness as seen in the work of Hindoo and other Indian nations."\* The still more grosser form of the barbarous grotesque was to be found among "the complete savage of the Pacific Islands". Thus in the opinion of Ruskin the Hindoo and other Indian nations were only one degree removed from the complete savage and the cannibal. In another place treating of architecture and referring to India, Ruskin makes a curiously infelicitous suggestion about keeping the lamp of memory alight: "Let us imagine our own India House adorned in this way, by historical or symbolical sculpture: massively built in the first place; then adorned with bas-reliefs of our Indian battles and fitted with carvings of Oriental foliage, or inlaid with Oriental stones; and the more important members of its decoration composed of groups of Indian life and landscape, and prominently expressing the phantasms of Hindoo worship in their subjection to the Cross."† If this idea had been carried out and a building of the India Office designed in accordance with these suggestions it would have been a daily affront to Indian visitors and a monument of political unwisdom. But if Ruskin wrote of Indian art and the Indian people in ignorance he wrote of the followers of the Church of Rome with full and finished knowledge, and he poured his vial of contempt on 'Romanist idolatry' with burning iconoclastic zeal:—"It matters literally nothing to a Romanist what the image he worships is like. Take the vilest doll that is screwed together in a cheap toy-shop, trust it to the keeping of a large family of children, let it be beaten about the house by them till it is reduced to a shapeless block, then dress it in a satin frock and declare it to have fallen from heaven, and it will satisfactorily answer all Romanist

\* Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. III

† *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. The Lamp of Memory.



purposes."\* Ruskin's literary judgment also is startlingly unconventional: "Cast Coleridge at once aside, as sickly and useless; and Shelley as shallow and verbose."†

Ruskin was far too great a man to wrangle with his early critics, but once, in the preface to the second edition of "Modern Painters" he replied to a critic in Blackwood's Magazine, and the first sentence may be quoted here: "Writers like the present critic of Blackwood's Magazine deserve respect—the respect due to honest, hopeless, helpless imbecility." The critic was none other than Professor John Wilson, 'the fair-haired Hercules-Apollo,' famous under his literary name of Christopher North. Language of such scathing contempt has not been applied even to the most ignorant critics of Indian art.

The word 'Hindu' is from the Persian word 'Hind' meaning black, and refers to the dark complexion of the people of India, but it has been accepted latterly by the Hindus themselves as distinctive of their religion. The word Hind occurs in the famous *guzal* of Hafiz:

*"Agar an Toork Shiraxi badastarad dile mara.*

*Bakhale hindyash bukshum Samarcando Bokhara ra.*

If that Toork from Shiraz would take my heart in his hand I would make a gift of the cities Samarcand and Bokhara in exchange for the dark mole on his skin."

The word is an obvious corruption from the Sanscrit word Indu, the moon.

The illustrious Chinese traveller Hieuen-Tsiang, who travelled extensively in India, says that the country was called in ancient times Shin-tu (Sindhu), also Hien-tau ('Hindu') but the right pronunciation of the word is in-tu (Indu). The explanation of this name may be given in the traveller's own eloquent words: "The bright connected light of holy men and sages, guiding the world as the shining of the moon, have made this country eminent, and so it is called in-tu (Indu), the moon." It will be more accurate to refer to early Indian art as Brahmanic, Jain and Buddhist, for the word Hindu was unknown until the establishment of Islamic rule in India.

Preconceived prejudice, inability to appreciate the orientation of Indian thought and

Indian art, utter ignorance of ancient Indian theogony as contained in the Sanscrit scriptures, and of the hagiology of Buddhism and Jainism, and irresponsible empiricism have combined to make supercilious outside estimates of ancient Indian art utterly valueless. But the appeal here is not that of embalmed mummies and the trappings of death which have turned archaeologists into grave diggers, but of living thought and a profound symbolism. As Indian philosophy and Indian thought have penetrated the thick armour of Western materialism so has Indian art been vindicated and raised to its rightful place in the world of art. Continental critics like Foucher and Rodin, himself a great artist, the patient and earnest labours of Mrs. Herringham and her Indian helpers, and Victor Goloubeff have represented Indian art in its true light. Havell's works on Indian art and ancient Indian civilisation display an insight, an understanding and an intimate knowledge worthy of high admiration while Coomaraswamy has brought all the resources of his scholarship and all the enthusiasm of his patriotism to bear upon his exposition of Indian and Ceylonese art. And they have been succeeded by others, including a number of Englishmen, who have borne enthusiastic testimony to the greatness of Indian art, which is rapidly winning admirers and adherents in the West.

Time alone is not responsible for the destruction of works of art in India. Almost all vestiges of religious paintings have been effaced by the blind and indiscriminate passion of iconoclastic zeal. In considering the relics of sculptural and architectural arts that are still left the first feature that has to be stressed is the selection of the sites. With all the modern facilities of travel places like Elephanta, Karle, Ajanta and many ancient temples in South India are not difficult of access now. In ancient times they were entirely removed and remote from the haunts of men, and the men who worked in the cave temples and on rock sculpture lived in a state of complete isolation. The only forethought that they showed was in choosing a spot where there was a supply of fresh water near at hand, a natural spring of clear water or some mountain stream gushing out near by. In other respects their abnegation was as complete as of the *yogin* who renounced the world and went to the forest for meditation. It was sacred art at its highest and holiest. Their studio was the

\* Stones of Venice, Vol. II  
† Elements of Drawing, Appendix.



sea-girt island, or the steep mountain side. There were no admiring crowds to watch their work from day to day, no titles awaiting to reward their labours. It was a work of love, devotion and faith. The Greek sculptor chiselled out his figures or temples from blocks of marble or stone; the Indian sculptor attacked the whole mass of frowning unyielding and reluctant rock, and with hammer and chisel carved out colossal or small images, magnificent fluted pillars, wide, spacious monastic halls. It was the work of Titans done by humble and gentle laymen and monks, whose art was part of their religion. The physical peril was as great as the work was strenuous. The scaffoldings on which the sculptors worked must have been often erected over yawning chasms and a slip or a false step would have meant instantaneous death. Their indifference to fame was no less remarkable than their disregard of personal comfort and personal safety. There is no inscription, no memorial tablet to afford the slightest clue to the master artists who have left the impress of their handiwork on these rocks. Were they to obtrude their identity while making the images of the gods? Mr. Havell has written of the unknown Indian Michaelangelo, Lintoretto and Perugino who worked in the caves of Elephanta and Ajanta. In Western art we can easily reel off the names of ancient, medieval and modern artists, but in India not a single name has come down to posterity except the architects and sculptors of myth and fable, names like Visvakarma, the architect of the gods, and Moy, the demon builder. Ancient Indian art was an anonymous consecration of high talent, the culmination of self-surrender and self-effacement.

The second obvious feature of ancient Indian art is the greater attention paid to the durability of sacred structures as compared with secular. The Bharhut stupa is one of the oldest examples of Indian art and its date is approximately estimated about the third century B. C. There are no royal palaces of that date of which even the ruins have much attraction. The sculptures at Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati are not only of great artistic value but of considerable historic and educative importance. The great Chinese traveller Hieuen-Tsang when he visited India in the seventh century of the Christian era found the Nalanda University flourishing in all its glory but the old

capital cities of Magadha and other parts of India were in ruins. The universities at such places as Nalanda, Ajanta, Sudhanya Kata and Takshasila were sacred institutions and sacred learning was imparted in them. In the Brahmanic temples was heard the rise and fall of the Vedic chant, in the Buddhist chaitya houses learned and pious monks expounded the Law, in the Jain temples learned priests and Munis discoursed on the great Tirthankars, the Pillars of the Universe, the saints whose colossal images are to be seen at Jain shrines. The importance of Ellora is due not only to the Kailash temple, a marvellous combination of the finest sculpture and architecture, but also to the contiguity of Jain and Buddhist shrines. The Indra Sabha at Ellora is a Jain temple with sculptured figures of Mahavira, the twenty-fourth and last Tirthankar and a contemporary of the Buddha. There can be no more conclusive evidence of the tolerance of religious faiths in ancient India than that a great Saiva temple should be seen near other temples of other religions.

Of Ajanta Mr. Havell writes :

"Very rarely in the world's history has there come together that true symphony of the three arts—painting, sculpture, and architectonic design—creating the most perfect architecture, which are so beautifully harmonised at Ajanta."

In many places in India there are numerous relics of the finest plastic art, but the Ajanta frescoes reveal the acme of pictorial art, in its perfect technique, the bold and sure sweep of the lines, the living reality of portraiture, the variety of designs, the vividness and graciousness of expression. The idealised likeness of Prince Siddhartha, the Buddha that was to be, arrests the eye by the nobility of the countenance and the suggestion of latent spiritual splendour. A copy of a splendid fresco representing the Buddha after he had attained Enlightenment returning to Kapilavastu, with his beggar's bowl in his hand to see his wife Jasodhara and his son Rahul, was widely admired at the recent exhibition of Indian paintings at the British museum as "perhaps the noblest existing example of the art of the Gupta period, the classic age of all Indian culture." The pictures are not all hieratic and cover a wide range. Even in the sacred pictures there is evidence of the catholicity of the Indian mind. Brahmanic divinities are represented as freely as the Buddhist heavens. The Ajanta paintings cannot be dismissed as an



isolated or fortuitous incident; they are the remnants of a school of painting as gifted as the world has ever known. Buddhism undeniably gave the impulse to a period of unprecedented activity in art as it laid the foundations of the Empire of Asoka, a ruler and a saint as great as Constantine. Pataliputra, Asoka's capital, has been buried like other ancient cities of the world, but his monolithic pillar edicts, noble specimens of the sculptor's art, stand to this day as veritable sermons in stones.

Judged by territorial extent ancient Indian art wielded a wider influence than the art of Greece or Rome. In India itself the traces of Indian art are to be found from Gandhara to Gour in the north, from Rajputana down to the Bombay coast on the west, in Central India in the great stupas and temples, in the south in the temples and other structures at Mamallapuram, Srirangam, Madura, Rameswaram and Ceylon. Out of India on the west the famous capital of Mahmud of Ghazni was built by Indian architects, and the whole of far Eastern Asia was inspired by Indian art. The sense of the impermanence of things, "writes Mr. Binyon in *The Flight of the Dragon*, "the transitoriness of life, which in Buddhism was allied to human sorrow, became a positive and glowing inspiration in Chinese and Japanese art." Some of the finest Indian sculpture which has escaped the ravages of vandals and iconoclasts are to be found in Java. It is not in India but in the courtyard of a temple at Prambanam in Java that the finest series of relief illustrating the Ramayana has been found. There is no clear line of distinction between ecclesiastical and secular architecture, and "throughout all the many and varied aspects of Indian art—Buddhist, Jain, Hindu, Sikh and even Saracenic there runs a golden thread of Vedic thought." Some of the Jain temples and other buildings are as splendid as the best Brahmanical and Buddhist temples. The towers of victory at Chitore, the vaulted shrines at Mount Abu, the hill temples of Palitana and Girnar, the colossal images of Tirthankars at Sravanbelgola, Karkalu and elsewhere are notable achievements of architectural and sculptural art.

To the uninstructed and undiscerning observer from the West the imposing figure of the Trimurti at Elephanta, the four-headed Brahma, the five-headed Siva, the elephant-headed Ganesha will appear as grotesque

sculpture to be classed with the centaurs, the satyrs and the fauns of ancient Greek art, monstrosities which are looked upon as divinities by a savage, heathen race. The difference between ancient European and Indian arts is that the former confines itself to the beauty of the figures whereas the latter suggests the beauty behind and beyond the figures. At its best the art of Greece and Rome is realistic in the sense that it seeks to typify and idealise beauty as perceived by the eye; Indian art represents the divinities of the different Indian pantheons as conceived by the mind and visualised by the eye of faith. It is possible for a man or a woman to resemble a sculptured Greek god or goddess, but no one in India would dream of comparing a human being to the image of a god. In actual practice Siva is not usually represented as having five heads, nor did the imagers and frescoists of Ajanta often depict Parvati with ten arms. Greek art was entirely detached from Greek philosophy. The Greeks attributed human suffering and sickness to the envy of the gods; the Indians ascribed them to Karma. The attainment of physical perfection in life was the great ambition of the Hellenic people and the Greek artist endowed his gods and goddesses with perfect symmetry of face and figure, the finest contour of the head and the most fascinating poise and grace of limb. The art of India is an academy of symbology. Even a flower like the lotus is a symbol of almost universal application: in architecture, in the theory of the creation, in the standing or sitting position of the gods, in ornamentation, the lotus recurs everywhere. No artists outside India ever thought of representing a god engaged in contemplation. In the classic art of Europe it is always the ripple of the muscle, the vivid vitality of the features, the dazzling outlook on life that arrest the eye; here in India art has fixed the tranquillity of repose, it has conveyed the majesty of meditation, the sublimity of aloofness and withdrawal. This calmness is not inertia, but the flickerless steadiness of a flame lighting a closed temple. The Western artist always thought of pose; the Indian thought reverently of posture. The great Buddha statue at Anuradhapura in Ceylon, the Trimurti at Elephanta, the statues of the Tirthankars, the Dhyani Buddha or Amitabha, the Bodhisattvas are all figures of physical restraint with intense



spiritual vitality. The image of the Buddha in its inconceivable calmness and passionlessness is the very embodiment of the immutability of the Law that he preached and the serene consciousness of the final and full attainment of liberty.

On the other hand, the fine bronze figure in Madras of Siva as Nataraja dancing the *Tandava* dance, is a symbol of cosmic commotion, the effervescent joy of creation. The Greek and Roman imagers knew nothing of the symbolism and significance of the gestures of the fingers and hands, the *mudras*, and it was only after the introduction of Christian art that the upraising of two fingers as a symbol of benediction is to be found in European pictures. If we place a likeness of the Apollo Belvedere by the side of one of the Avalokitesvara at Borobudur in Java, and of the Venus of Milo by that of Uma in meditation on the Himalayas we shall easily appreciate the difference and the distinction between Western and Indian art. If the art of Greece at its strongest and best may be likened to epic poetry ancient Indian art may be compared to the solemn and sacred poetry of the Vedas and the Gathas.

With the eighth century of the Christian era began the decadence of art in India, the perversion of religious thought and the political disintegration of the country. Some time later the repeated raids of Mahmud of Ghazni swept over parts of India like a hurricane of fire and destruction, the famous temple of Somnath was plundered, and destroyed and ten thousand temples in Kanauj were rased to the dust. With the coming of the Great Mughals there was a change and the conditions of life and occupation became more stable. Of the six Mughal Emperors from Baber to Aurungzeb it may be truthfully said that there is no other example in history of such remarkable heredity in conspicuous ability for six generations in lineal descent, but while the three greatest Mughals, Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan, devoted themselves to the work of construction and consolidation, in Aurungzeb was born anew the unrestrained passion of iconoclasm and the fanaticism of bigotry, and his great energy was spent in the destruction of temples at Benares and other places, and in unwittingly sapping the foundations of the Mughal Empire. Akbar was one of those men to whom greatness comes from within, without help or guidance. Unlettered, he was

wiser than other men steeped in learning; untaught in religious dogma, he had the widest tolerance in religion; uninitiated in statecraft, he was one of the greatest statesmen the world has seen; ignorant alike of books and art he was one of the greatest patrons of art and letters and held some of the soundest views on art. As builders Akbar and Shah Jehan rank very high, but it is misleading to designate Mughal architecture as the Indo-Saracenic style. That would imply that there are different branches of the Saracenic style of architecture with certain features common to all. It would be clearly erroneous to make such classifications as Hispano-Saracenic, Turko-Saracenic, Arab-Saracenic and Indo-Saracenic, for Mughal architecture in India has nothing in common with any Saracenic style out of India. The Taj Mahal, the apogee of Mughal art, is essentially Indian in design, the ground-work, the central dome and the four small cupolas being conceived in the *pancharatna* style. The decadence of Indian art did not mean its extinction. It became renescent in a modified form under Mughal patronage. At Agra, Fatehpur-Sikri and Jehanabad, Delhi, there are clear indications of a great and beautiful art, imperial in the magnificence of its proportions, and stamped by the individuality of Akbar and Shah Jehan. Mr. Havell very happily describes the Taj Mahal as a living image of Mumtaz Mahal herself in all the glory of her radiant beauty. In all inlaid mosaic work, whether in the Taj Mahal, Itmad-ud-daula or the tomb of Sheikh Salim Chishti the Koranic inhibition has excluded all living things, but the leaves, the plants, the vessels and the flowers are shown with consummate skill the coloured stones and the pearl and ebony being arranged with an excellent eye to effect. The 'fairy-like tracery windows'\* of the marble tomb of Sheikh Salim Chishti at Fatehpur-Sikri, the Pearl Mosque in the Agra Fort for the ladies of the Imperial harem, the perforated screens of marble are the productions of a delicate and dainty art. The mausoleum of Jehangir at Lahore is designed with great simplicity, the imperial idea finding vent in the great quadrangle on the four sides of the tomb and the roof with its impressive spatial effect.

Mughul painting as seen in miniatures,

\* A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Arts & Crafts of India & Ceylon*.



oil paintings, portfolio pictures in water colours, illuminated manuscripts and illustrations of books owes its origin to several influences. The Timurias were lovers of art and beauty in nature and Akbar whose views on all subjects, including religion, were extremely liberal, defended and justified painting on the ground that a painter was bound, while painting anything having life, to think of God as the Giver of life since the work of the painter stopped at the mere resemblance of the body. Persian and Chinese influence had a share but the tradition of painting in India had a larger and more definite influence. It is at this stage of the history of Indian art that the word 'Hindu' can be accurately used, for the word was then in use and the religious distinction between Hindus and Mussalmans was clearly defined. The fact that Akbar employed a large number of Hindu artists is proof sufficient because he would not have employed novices, and the similarity between Rajput and Mughal painting is unmistakable, though the contrast is equally obvious. The Rajasthani and Pahari groups of painting, the first from Rajputana and the second mostly from Kangra, Chamba and Poonch in the Punjab are older than Mughal painting which they survived till the last century. It is both sacred and secular whereas Mughal painting, which had a life of about two hundred years only, was of necessity merely secular and courtly. The Rajput artists, following ancient tradition, have left no means of identification behind them and their pictures bear no names; it is a repetition of the anonymity at Ajanta, Sarnath, Elephanta and a score of other places. Moghul portrait painting is of high merit and true to the life unless the artist had to paint a patron who required to be flattered. Moghul paintings bear names and the majority are Hindu names. Mansur, however, was a Mussalman and an artist of a high order, his portraits of animals being wonderfully life-like. Akbar and Jehangir admitted famous painters to intimate personal friendship. Artistic skill was not unknown in the zenana of the Emperors and the great nobles. Names have come down in history of cultured and highly intellectual queens and princesses and great ladies, some of them past mistresses of statecraft, others gifted artists and musicians, and authors of graceful verses. The impenetrable and inviolable secrecy of the purdah had

kept all their achievement from the notice of the world of men, but still the world knows of the saintly and vestal lady, a Princess of the Blood, Jahanara,\* daughter of Shah Jahan, who devoted her life to the service of God and in ministering to her imprisoned father, and whose last request was that she should be buried in a pauper's grave with the green sward for a cover and the dome of heaven for a cupola, and who left the following simple and touching verse as an inscription for her resting place:—

*"Bur mazare ma gariban, na chirage,  
na gule,  
Na pare parwana suxad, na sadai  
bulbule !*

On the grave of poor people like us there should be neither lamps nor flowers; nor should the wings of moths be burned, nor should there be the wailing of a nightingale."

It is reported that Rembrandt and Reynolds saw Mughal paintings and admired them and the former copied some of them.

The revival of Indian art and art tradition has begun in Bengal and is associated with the school of which Abanindranath Tagore is the leader. Their work has been appreciated and admired out of India. The influence of Japanese art is noticeable in their earlier work, but they have outgrown this stage and have produced original paintings conforming to Indian classic art. To keep alive the tradition of Indian art Indian artists, while fully receptive and responsive to modern and contemporary influences, and the far wider sweep of the vision of life, must seek inspiration in the ancient epics and dramas, in the symbolism of ancient sacred literature, in ancient philosophical thought and the multitudinous conceptions of supernal beauty. Mere portraiture and painting from animated or still life can never be a high incentive to art, and this is one of the reasons why Mughal art, cramped by its limitations and debarred from dealing with all sacred subjects had such a brief career. And it is not only the artist who must be true to tradition and loyal to the ancient ideals of devotion, enthusiasm and selflessness, but our countrymen must return to the fold from which they have strayed and learn once again to breathe the atmosphere in which the ancient Aryans lived and had their being. How

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\* She lies buried near the tomb of Nizamuddin Aulia in Delhi.



many of the graduates of Indian universities have read the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. how many of them know even the names of Sanscrit dramas? The higher Vedic literature, the systems of philosophy are difficult subjects requiring special study, but there can be no excuse for educated Hindus being ignorant of literature and ideals which are still living forces in Hindu homes and Hindu lives. Modern manners and modern culture do not surely require that we should consign the past to oblivion.

In the present European sense painting means pictures in an oil medium. Auctioneers and professional dealers call paintings in water colours drawings. Indian artists have to be careful in the media they choose for their work. Sir Joshua Reynolds was praised as one of the purest colourists but his colours were sometimes so ill-chosen that some of his paintings are already fading. Well-known painters in Europe used sometimes lamp-black as an under-tint with the result that it came up to the surface and discoloured the upper coatings of different colours. Paintings at best are easily spoiled or loose colour even if they are not destroyed. Are the Indian artists who are attempting a revival of genuine Indian art satisfied that their work will endure as long as the Rajput and Mughal paintings? The paper, the pigments used by those artists are no longer in use. Is it not worth while to make an attempt to procure and reintroduce them? All the materials now used, the paper, the paint and the brush are brought from Europe. Artists' colourmen in Europe have put on the market more than two hundred colours of which less than twenty are reliable. The thought is disquieting that modern colours may not prove even so fast as those that were in use in India three or four hundred years ago. This is a matter that concerns primarily the present artists of India.

Truly has Ruskin said, "all great Art is praise": praise of all that is in nature, of all that has life, of the human form divine but above all what the mind and the spirit can conceive but the eye cannot see, of the noumena behind phenomena, of the thought symbol behind the projected object, of the absolute behind the concrete. Art is suggestion as well as representation eloquent not only by what it expresses but also what it leaves out. The aim of true art is not merely to produce fac-similes and verisimi-

litudes but to stimulate thought so that the mind of the beholder may endeavour to interpret the idea of the artist as outlined in the picture. The concentration of the true artist is as intense as that of the earnest worshipper. If there is joy in the artist's work, if there is pleasure in watching a thing of beauty grow under his hand there is reverence also in his devotion to this ideal, to the thought-image that he endeavours to shape in stone or trace on paper. It is the faculty of praise that tends to uplift man's nature and praise finds a noble expression in art. The original mainspring of all art in all lands is a conception of the divine. The form of faith may vary, but the divine transcends the human in all aspects and every thought of the deity is praise.

Since I began with a brief sketch of the history of art in the West these observations may be brought to a close by a reference to the prospects of art in that part of the world. The cultivation and development of art is among the triumphs of peace, but there is no real peace in the West. So real was the menace of extinction in the last war that the instinct of self-preservation has led the nations of Europe to establish the League of Nations, but the real guarantee of peace is in the heart and not in any tribunal or institution created for that purpose. The air is surcharged with jealousy and suspicion and thoughts of revenge are secretly nourished by the nations which were defeated and humiliated. There is no relaxation of tension, no relinquishment of aggressive vigilance. There is always a hint of rupture behind diplomatic relations, a chronic scepticism in professions of friendship. In the Far West across the Atlantic we see a new and great race founded originally by colonists and settlers from England and Ireland, and subsequently augmented by the interfusion of emigrants from the other nations of Europe. In industry and wealth the United States of America have left Europe far behind, but the nation is neither troubled nor stimulated by any memories of the past, nor does it recognise any tradition that has to be maintained. There are great names like Abraham Lincoln and Ralph Waldo Emerson, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Alva Edison, but there have been no precursors of a great literature, or a great art, and it may be fairly doubted whether the Americans will achieve more



than they have already done. The architecture of America has introduced no new or attractive style. The great ambition is to erect sky-scrappers, piles of buildings high as the Tower of Babel. The usual comment of an American tourist when he sees some famous buildings in the Old World is that America has buildings twenty or thirty times as large. Since the Declaration of Independence America has not produced a single famous painter. The New World has introduced a new cult: Mammon and Megalomania sit throned on high, and the crowd bows down to them and worships them. Staggering figures of the fabulous wealth acquired by individuals are announced from time to time, but one looks in vain for any signs of any striking

use made of this hoarded treasure, of any liberal patronage of the arts, the erection of a structure that should arrest the eyes of the world, or any large endowment likely to benefit the cause of humanity. The great name of Andrew Carnegie alone has to be excepted. In ancient times wealthy men became famous because of the use they made of their wealth since there is no merit in the mere piling up of gold. Megalomania is a delusion of power and greatness that is considered a malady, but it has become a universal national failing. It is an omen of evil because the obsession of greatness is not good either for the individual or the nation. The auguries are not promising of a revival of great art in the Far West.

## THE INDIAN STATES INQUIRY

BY A. RAMAIIYA M.A., F.R. ECON. S. (*London*)

WHEN it was announced by His Excellency the Viceroy that a Committee had been appointed to inquire into the relations between the Indian States and the Government of India, it was expected by all people both in the States and British India, that the Committee was going to examine the various problems concerning the States and make suggestions regarding the future constitutional relationship between them and British India. This expectation was also strengthened by the appointment of the Statutory Commission, and it was thought, not unnaturally, that while the Committee would be engaged in finding out the best way in which the States could be made to fit in with the Government of British India, the Simon Commission would report about the further steps to be taken in developing self-governing institutions and extending responsible Government in British India. The exact terms of reference and instructions issued to the Committee have not been published. But during the course of the Committee's stay in India it has been made clear that its task is very limited and its terms of reference do not extend to more than examining the Treaty engagements with the ruling

Princes and reporting as to how far the position required modification in the light of modern developments. The whole work of the Committee in India has been from beginning to end conducted *in camera*, and no chance whatever has been given either to the subjects of the States or the people of British India to have their say in the matter of the Inquiry or express their views on any of its aspects, and except the movements of the members of the Committee from one State to another and their final departure to England from Bombay, nothing has been made known to the public in India. It would appear that even some of the princes were not enabled to understand the exact scope of the Committee's inquiry, for as the press reports of the proceedings of the Princes' Conference held at Bombay on the eve of the Committee's departure from India, would indicate, a good many of the Princes themselves were under a delusion that the Committee's scope of inquiry extended to an investigation of the constitutional position as between themselves and their subjects on the one hand, and as to the place which the States should occupy in any federal constitution of India which the Statutory Commission



might propose, on the other. It has now been made clear by authoritative information obtained by the Simla correspondent of the Calcutta *'Statesman,'* that the Committee will strictly confine itself to reporting about relations between the Princes and the Paramount Power, that is to say, regard to the rights, privileges, dignities, and prerogatives of the Princes and their political and diplomatic relations with His Majesty's Government, and will not, except perhaps collaterally and incidentally, deal with questions regarding either the relations between the Princes and their subjects or the States and British India. From the standpoint of the constitutional progress of the country as a whole, nothing is now more urgent than a thorough examination of the necessity for and introduction of some sort of constitutional Government in all the Indian States, at least to the extent to which it has been received by the people of British India as well as the possibility of fitting them as part of a Federated India. These imperative questions have not been touched upon by the Committee during their stay in India and not one who is competent to speak on any of these matters has been interviewed or examined. And if the information of the Simla correspondent of the *Statesman* is correct, even the standing committee of the Chamber of Princes was not to be given an opportunity to discuss constitutional schemes for which they were prepared with some proposal of their own under the leadership of their legal adviser, Sir Leslie Scott. At the same time it has also been made evident from the printed pamphlet issued by the Simon Commission with regard to the various topics to be dealt with by them, that the problems regarding the States are not to come within the scope of their inquiry either. The result is that as things stand at present, not only is the relation between the Indian Princes and their subjects to be left wholly untouched but the place which the States are to occupy in the future constitution of the country, whatever it may be, is not to be determined even by the Statutory Commission. This probably shows that the Commission is not going to recommend any far reaching changes with regard to the political organisation of India as a whole unless, after the publication of the Report of the States Inquiry Committee, it should propose to review these matters on the basis of that Report.

Whatever the Committee or the Commission is actually going to do, an investigation of the two matters—the relation between the ruling Princes and their subjects, and the position which the States should occupy in the future constitution of India is essential from the standpoint of the Indian nation as a whole. Without it, any proposals that may be made by the Simon Commission with regard to the development of self-governing institutions and responsible government in British India, must necessarily be incomplete.

With regard to the first point, *viz.*, the relation between the Princes and their subjects, it was stated by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report that the British Government was bound by treaty obligations not to interfere with the internal administration of the States, but it was hoped that constitutional changes in British India would not leave the States untouched and "must in time affect even those whose ideas and institutions are of the most conservative and feudal character." Of course, the political ideas and ideals prevalent in British India and the constitutional progress made there have exerted considerable influence on the peoples of various States in spite of the general ignorance of the masses and the rigorous steps taken by some of the rulers to prevent political education spreading into their territories, and hastened the setting up by enlightened rulers of some sort of representative institutions in their States. But most of the ruling chiefs are conservative and firm believers in their own divine right to rule over their subjects. Leaving aside the most enlightened of them, who are certainly conferring good government on their subjects, in some respects even superior to what we have in British India, in the vast majority of the States despotic administration in more or less arbitrary fashion is the general rule. It is now well-recognised in all civilised countries that the following conditions are essential for ensuring good government:—

(i) The separation of the private purse of the ruler from the general revenues of the State and the fixing of a civil list.

(ii) A sound system of finance and taxation in which revenues are assessed and collected not arbitrarily but under fixed rules and regulations,

(iii) A regular system of annual budget and auditing,

(iv) An independent judiciary and the



introduction of the reign of law and elimination of arbitrary personal intervention with law and justice on the part of the ruler,

(v) Securing for all people in the State the ordinary rights of citizenship such as freedom of movement, freedom of speech, rights of property, freedom of the press, etc.,

(vi) The training of the people in some sort of responsible government by the introduction of representative institutions for purposes of legislation, and interpellation on all matters of administration.

In many of the Indian States all or some of these elements are lacking. Now, as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report itself pointed out, in spite of the varieties and complexities of treaties, engagements and *Sanads* which govern the rights and obligations of the ruling Chiefs, there is a general responsibility on the part of the Paramount power for the good Government and welfare of the people in the States, and if so, the attitude of non-intervention in matters of internal administration advocated by the same Report is hardly justifiable so long as even the elementary principles of good government as judged by modern standards, are found lacking in many of the States. It is a matter for regret, therefore, that a committee specially appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the relation between the States and the Paramount Power should have its task limited to an examination merely of the prerogatives, privileges and rights of the Princes arising under treaty engagements or established practice, and not also make a survey of the conditions of government in their respective States, which duty equally arises under the same treaty obligations.

Again, if the British Parliament is to stand by the announcement of August 20, 1917, *viz.*, that 'the policy of His Majesty's government is the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire' (note the use of the word "India" and not merely "British India") it is but proper that steps should be taken for solving the important problem of bringing the States into some sort of constitutional relationship with British India. Whatever may be the kind of reform that the Statutory Commission is going to recommend it cannot be disputed that having regard to the terms of the announcement of August 1917, which relates not merely to British India but to the

Indian States as well, any inquiry into constitutional matters should properly include an examination of the position of the States in the political organisation of India. Various practical suggestions have been made by thoughtful Indians for a federation of the whole of India as a single State, and even enlightened Princes have allowed their minds to turn in this direction. The Maharajah of Alwar, one of the ablest of his class, has declared: "My goal is the United States of India, where every province, every state working out its own destiny in accordance with its own environment, its tradition, history, and religion will combine together for higher and imperial purposes, each subscribing its little quota of knowledge and experience in a labour of love freely given for a noble and higher cause." When thus the attention of princes and people alike in the country is engaged in working out a constitution for the whole of India, the avoidance of an inquiry into the question both by the States Committee and the Statutory Commission is open to grave misgiving.

Though the States are many and found in varying stages of political development and there is no political unity between any of them and, British India, the country being a geographical whole, the peoples are brought together and closely united by common bonds of race, religion, languages, culture and social and commercial intercourse, and they have also recently begun to exhibit common political aspirations. Until last year the people in the States took no part in the Indian National Congress and for the first time during the recent Congress held in December 1927, an attempt has been made to bring home to the minds of the people of both British India and the States that their interests and aspirations are so identical that, unless they united, there was no hope of realising *Swaraj* for the country. However much the Princes may resent this new development, it must in course of time, inevitably affect their position as rulers in their respective States, and unless they accede to the establishment of some sort of responsible government and assure at least as full rights of citizenship to their subjects as the people of British India enjoy, serious political disturbances may occur, which may even shake the very foundations of their position; in which event it will be a very delicate matter for



the Paramount power to interfere on behalf of the princes who would not move with the times and introduce constitutional government in their States even to the limited extent to which it has been introduced in India.

With regard to the relation between the States and British India there are, besides the establishment of harmonious political relations between them, other matters of considerable importance which being of common concern to the whole of India, require investigation at the hands of either the States Committee or the Statutory Commission, even if no political changes are to be introduced and the present state of things should continue. In the first place, the States are agitating for a share of the customs revenue of the Government of India, to which they lay claim on the ground that the seventy millions of people living in the States are also consumers of the imported goods on which duties are levied. They also claim a share of the revenue from salt and opium. Against

these there is the vital question of the enormous defence expenditure incurred by the Government of India for the benefit of the whole country but towards which not a pie is contributed by any of the States. There is also the question of unification of coinage and currency and also the question of the administration of railways, posts and telegraphs, in the control of which the rulers of the States evince a desire to have a share. In spite of their present importance, and in the teeth of the desire of the Princes themselves to have them thrashed out by expert investigation, the States Inquiry Committee has done nothing with regard to these matters and taken no evidence. In utter disregard of the real requirements of the situation, to confine the inquiry of the Committee to the very limited purpose of reporting on the relations between the rulers of the States and the British Government shows a lamentable lack of appreciation of the real needs of the country.

July 4, 1928.

## THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I. M. S. (*Retd.*)

THE British jingoes had hardly ceased clapping their hands at what they regarded as a brilliant performance by the actors of their creed on the stage of Afghanistan, than that state presented other scenes which seemed almost to stupefy them. The tragedy was now being played out to the end. The principal actor. Sir Louis Cavagnari, for whose installation on the state of Afghanistan so much money and so many lives were spent, met with a fate which fully justified the apprehension of the late Ameer Sher Ali in declining to permit the location of British officers in his dominion as agents of the British Government.

The Gundamak treaty signed on 26th May, 1879 permitted the British Government to station a British officer at Cabul. Sir Louis Cavagnari was chosen by Lord Lytton as an envoy to the new Amir. He took up his residence at Bala Hissar. When Ata

Muhamad was the British Agent at Cabul he had no medical officer to attend to him, no escort to protect his person and no secretary to write to his dictation. But to give great importance to the position of the British agent in the sight of the people of Afghanistan, Cavagnari was furnished by the Government of India with a secretary, who was a member of the Indian Civil Service, a medical officer named Surgeon Kelly, an escort of twenty-five sowars and fifty sepoy of the guides corps and also another British officer named Lieutenant Hamilton, in command of the escort. Ata Muhamad's agency did not cost India one-tenth the amount which the British embassy now did. The embassy proved a failure. Ata Muhamad used to mix with the people of Afghanistan and thus his informations were first hand. But the English envoy, with the characteristic hold-alooft-ness



of his race, had to employ a large band of spies to collect information. He was at the mercy of others. Hence those who had protested against replacing Ata Muhamad by a British agent were right when they wrote that :—

"It is indeed difficult to see in what respect a European Agent could have served us better or indeed, so far as the procuring of information went, served us so well."

No reliance should be placed on the informations furnished by Cavagnari to the Government of India, for he did not know what was going on under his very nose in Cabul itself. Within twelve hours of his last message to the Viceroy on the 2nd September 1879, which concluded with the words "All well", the Residency saw the repetition of the scenes of 1840. Cavagnari met with a fate which recalled to memory that of Sir Alexander Burnes.

By the Treaty of Gundamak the new Amir Yakub Khan was obliged to receive the British embassy at Cabul. Sir Louis Cavagnari with his staff and escort arrived at Cabul on the 24th July 1879. Yakub Khan showed every honour to the embassy. Cavagnari was quite pleased with the conduct of Yakub Khan. That prince was a great friend of Cavagnari, who had no reason to suspect the sincerity of his protestation of friendship for the British Government. We should be very chary in believing European writers when they accused him of treachery. Yakub owed his release from prison and the throne of Cabul to the Government of India. He was not held in respect by his Afghan subjects, and it appears that he was not an able man. This is not to be wondered at when we remember the fact that he had spent a good many years of his life within the prison-walls of Cabul, which had the effect of dulling his intellect.

Lord Roberts writes that towards the end of March 1879, at the time when negotiations between the British Government and Yakub Khan were opened, the latter issued a proclamation to the Khagianis, in which Yakub is alleged to praise and compliment the Khagianis for their religious zeal and fidelity to himself. He exhorted them to have no fear of the infidels, against whom he was about to launch an irresistible force of troops and *Ghazis* and wound up as follows :

"By the favor of God, and in accordance with the verse "Verily God has destroyed the powerful ones," the whole of them will go to the fire of hell for evermore. Therefore, kill them to the extent of your ability."

Lord Roberts says that this proclamation was intercepted and brought to Cavagnari, on or about the 29th March 1879.

We are inclined to believe that this proclamation, alleged to have been issued by Yakub Khan, was a forgery, for it passes our comprehension that the astute officers of the British Government should have held any intercourse with Yakub Khan after they had grounds to suspect his fidelity. It seems clear that Cavagnari himself did not believe in the genuineness of the intercepted document, otherwise he would not have reposed implicit faith in Yakub Khan as he did. In his very last letter, dated the 30th August 1879, received after his death, Cavagnari wrote to the Viceroy :—

"I personally believe that Yakub Khan will turn out to be a very good ally, and that we shall be able to keep him to his engagements."

Lord Roberts' allegations and assertions against Yakub Khan are not worthy of much credit, since he was biassed against that unfortunate Afghan prince. It was this noble Lord who kept Yakub Khan a prisoner while he came to his camp as his guest, and succeeded in persuading the Viceroy that Yakub Khan instigated the attack on the Residency at Cabul. Hence we repeat that Lord Roberts' statement, even if he were to swear on the Bible, (supposing he believed in the solemnity of an oath, should be taken with the proverbial pinch of salt, since he was an interested party in the transactions which brought on such unhappy consequences.

There is no record to prove that Cavagnari, like Macnaghten and Burnes, opened through the agency of emigrants and other malcontents in Afghanistan a campaign of political intrigue in that country. But his band of spies must have been a source of great annoyance to the Afghan chiefs and nobles as well as the common folk of Cabul. Seventy years before, when Elphinstone was an envoy at Peshawar, he was assured by the Afghan chiefs that they would not allow the foreigners to meddle in the affairs of their country. They said that they were content with discord, they were content with alarms, they were content with blood, but they would never be content with a foreign master.

Seventy years had not produced any

\* Causes of the Afghan War, 1879, p. 206.



change in the national character of the Pathans. They still resented the interference of the foreigners in their country's affairs. Moreover, they saw Candahar in the possession of British troops, although the Gundamak Treaty stipulated the restoration of Candahar to the Amir.

The real cause or causes which prompted the Afghan soldiery to attack the British Residency will never be known. But from the fact that it was the troops from Herat which headed the outbreak, we may surmise that the retention of Candahar was to some extent the cause of this outrage on the person of the English envoy at Cabul. These Herat soldiers accused the British of bad faith. The occupation of Candahar must have alarmed them. As the occupation of Quetta was the first step which led to the occupation of Candahar, so the occupation of the latter made them believe that the British meant to occupy some day Herat. At first it was given out that the British troops would evacuate Candahar by 1st September 1879. The first of September still found Candahar in the possession of the British troops. Hence the Herat troops were confirmed in their belief that the concentration of troops at Candahar meant an advance on Herat.

On the morning of the 3rd September 1879, the Herat troops asked for their pay which had fallen in arrears. The Cabul treasury was almost empty. The treasurer did not know what to do. He was besieged by the troops clamouring for their pay. To release himself from these troops he pointed them out the Residency.\* It is probable that by

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\* This account appears to be the most probable of all the writer has come across and heard while on the frontier.

This differs, from the official version. In the Note issued by the Press Commissioner, on the receipt of the news of Cavagnari's murder at Simla on 6th September 1879, it is stated: "That certain Afghan Regiments, which had already shown strong symptoms of mutiny against the Amir, had been assembled in the Bala Hissar to receive arrears of pay which they had demanded. They suddenly broke out into violent mutiny and stoned their officers. They next made an attack on the British Residency which is inside the Bala Hissar."

The writer has inquired of many respectable and educated Pathan gentlemen as to the history of the outbreak. Their accounts differ from the official one in many important material points. One account was that the treasurer told the soldiers that the Amir in all state affairs was under the guidance of Cavagnari and that the latter

so doing the treasurer meant to remind Cavagnari of the payment of the subsidy stipulated for by the Gundamak Treaty. From the official records it does not appear that the annual subsidy of six lakhs was ever paid to the Ameer Yakub Khan. This amount was agreed upon

"for the support of His Highness the Amir in the recovery and maintenance of his legitimate authority".

It appears to us that this sum should have been paid in advance to Yakub Khan. The finances of Afghanistan were taxed to the utmost to meet the expenses inseparable from the war. When the Amir's troops crowded into the courtyard of the Residency in the Bala Hissar, clamouring for their pay, Sir Louis Cavagnari became angry at their thus invading him and said the matter was not one in which he could interfere, and ordered his escort to turn them out of the courtyard. Disappointed and ill-treated, the troops broke into open mutiny. They opened fire on the Residency. The invasion of their country by the British was still fresh in their memory. That invasion brought on them and their families nothing but ruin, miseries and disasters. Smarting under such grievances, and the Herati Regiments seeing that the occupation of Candahar meant an advance of the British on their country someday, it is not to be wondered at that they attacked the embassy. They tried to attract attention to their grievances by means of these demonstrations. The Residency was set on fire; and its inmates were all killed. The officers and men fought very bravely, but to no purpose. By the middle of the day, the Residency was a heap of ruins.

But what was the Ameer doing all this while? No sooner did he hear of the attack on the Residency than he sent his Commander-in-Chief, named Daud Shah, to the rescue of the Christian officers and men besieged in the Bala Hissar. Daud Shah was severely wounded. Afterwards Yakub Khan sent his own son. He met with no better fate. It was not necessary for Yakub Khan to go in

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had prohibited the Amir from paying the troops: on hearing this, the men went to the Amir, who is said to have ordered the treasurer to pay the men. But the treasurer still refusing it, the men went to Cavagnari and demanded payment. Cavagnari turned them out; the men believing that the British ambassador had really prohibited the Amir from paying them, attacked the Residency.



person. Moreover, he was prevented from doing so, as the Mutineers had also besieged him in his palace. The Mutineers entertained no respect for Yakub Khan, for he had contracted alliance with the enemies of his country and sold the independence of his subjects to the Government of India. There is no evidence to prove that he either instigated, or connived at, the attack on the Residency.

The news of the fate of the Residency was conveyed to the Political officer at Ali Khel, named Captain Conolly, by a spy in the employ of Sir Louis Cavagnari. Captain Conolly at once telegraphed the news to General Roberts, who was at that time in Simla, engaged on the work of the Army Commission. In his work, named "Forty-one Years in India," Lord Roberts writes :—

"Between one and two o'clock on the morning of the 5th September I was awakened by my wife telling me that a telegraph man had been wandering round the house and calling for some time, but that no one had answered him. I got up, went downstairs, and taking the telegram from the man, brought it up to my dressing-room, and opened it; it proved to be from Captain Conolly, Political officer at Ali Khel, dated the 4th September.....I was paralyzed for the moment, but was roused by my wife calling out 'What is it? Is it bad news from Cabul?'..... I replied, 'yes, very bad, if true. I hope it is not.' I woke my A. D. C. and sent him off at once to the Viceroy with the telegram. The evil tidings spread rapidly."

Lord Lytton was dumb-founded and dazed. This attack on the embassy condemned his transactions of the past three years and justified the predictions of Lords Lawrence and Northbrook. Hurriedly, on that day, a Council of War was called, when it was decided to telegraph Sir Donald Stewart who was at Candahar to hold the place against the mutinous soldiery of the Amir. The Khyber column under Sir Samuel Browne had been broken up; but the Kurram Field force was still in existence, under the temporary command of Brigadier General Durham Massy, during the absence of General Roberts. General Roberts at once telegraphed to him

"to move 23rd Pionneers, 5th Gurkhas, and mountain train to Shutar garden, crest of pass; to entrench themselves there and await orders. Ten days supplies."

General Roberts was ordered to proceed at once to Kurram, resume his command there from General Massy and change the name of his force as the Kabul field force, as the object of the force was to advance on

Cabul, and sack that city to avenge the fate of the British embassy.

Roberts left Simla on the 6th September, 1879. On reaching Ali Khel, Captain Conolly handed him the two letters from the Amir.

The Amir expressed his regret at the unfortunate events that had occurred in Cabul. The Amir wrote :—

"After God, I look to the Government for aid and advice. My true friendship and honesty of purpose will be proved as clear as daylight. By this misfortune I have lost my friend, the envoy, and also my kingdom. I am terribly grieved and perplexed."

General Roberts' reply to these letters, under the instructions of Lord Lytton, was very stiff and harsh. He wrote that the British envoy had been deputed to his court as the Amir agreed by one of the articles of the Gundamak Treaty to protect the envoy and that the

"British Government had been informed that emissaries had been despatched from Cabul to rouse the country people and tribes against us, and as this action appeared inconsistent with 'friendly intentions,' General Roberts 'considered it necessary for His Highness to send a confidential representative to confer with him (Roberts) and his (Amir's) object."

Roberts relied on Ghulam Hussain Khan for all the reports and rumors against the Amir. This man had been the British Agent at Cabul and made himself obnoxious to Ameer Shere Ali. He bore a grudge against Shere Ali and his family. No wonder that he poisoned the mind of Roberts against Shere Ali's son, Yakub Khan. Ghulam Hussain Khan's good fortune and prosperity depended on creating confusion and disorder in Afghanistan. So he found a good opportunity to gain distinction and honor by getting Yakub Khan in trouble. Roberts also easily lent his ears to the machinations of this low and contemptible place-hunter. This man succeeded in convincing Roberts "that the Amir was now playing us false."

Yakub Khan, with the characteristics of a simpleton which his long imprisonment had made him, believed that matters would be set right if he proceeded in person to the camp of General Roberts and explain all the circumstances of his case. Accordingly he came on 27th September to the British camp at Kushi with a suite of 45 members and an escort of 200 men. Great was his chagrin when he found himself a prisoner in the



British camp. Lord Roberts writes that he detailed a guard

"ostensibly to do him honor, but in reality that I might be kept informed as to his movements. Unwelcome guest as he was I thought the least of two evils was to keep him now that we had got him, as his presence in Cabul would be sure to increase the opposition I felt certain we should encounter."

For our own part, we are of opinion that the opposition which the British army met with, was principally due to the people of Afghanistan believing that their sovereign Yakub Khan had been treacherously made a prisoner in the camp of the Christians. So many lives would never have been lost, and so much treasure would never have been squandered, had the proposal made by Yakub Khan been acceded to. That prince asked the British Government to leave the matter of punishing the murderers of Cavagnari and the men of the British embassy in his hands. There was nothing unreasonable in this request. He considered himself to be a friend and ally of the British Government, and that as the outrage on the British envoy had taken place within his dominion, he had the authority to punish the perpetrators of that foul deed. Supposing that a British envoy had been at that time attacked and killed in St. Petersburg, by the enraged Russian soldiery, and supposing the Czar expressed his regret for what had happened in his territory, and also his willingness to inflict adequate punishment on the perpetrators of the deed, would the British Government have gone to sack St. Petersburg to avenge the murder of the envoy? No one would ever think of doing such a thing. Yet the British Government of India did not hesitate to sack the capital of an ally for avenging the murder of their envoy. To lend color of justification to their proceeding, they even went to the length of not only suspecting the good faith of their ally, but accusing him of instigating and conniving at the foul deed, and making him a prisoner while he visited their camp as their guest.

Yakub Khan urged strongly upon the British Government the advisability of delaying the advance on Cabul, that he might have time to restore order amongst his troops, and to punish those who had participated in the attack on the embassy; and the innocent people in Cabul with their families would suffer, if the British troops were to march into Cabul.

But the advisers of the Government of India were determined to see Cabul sacked. The prospect of Cabul in flames delighted the hearts of many a good Britisher. The correspondent of the *Pioneer* wrote from Ali Khel on the 28th September 1879 :—

"The fate of the city (Cabul), in case any opposition is shown when our army moves forward, should be sealed. The only argument an Afghan understands is direct and severe punishment for offences committed, and the punishment should now be dealt without stint, even if Cabul has to be sacked. Not a man in the force that is now about to make the final advance would feel other than the keenest pleasure in seeing Cabul forced,.....Sunday next should see the British troops encamped before Cabul, and then will begin the punishment of a city which is only connected in the surest way with the expansion of our power in Asia."

In deference, however, to the Amir's wishes, a proclamation was issued, in which it was announced that

"The British Army is advancing on Cabul to take possession of the city. If it is allowed to do so peacefully, well and good; if not, the city will be seized by force.....Every effort will be made to prevent the innocent suffering with the guilty but it is necessary that the utmost precaution should be taken against useless opposition."

"After receipt of this Proclamation, therefore, all persons found armed in or about Cabul will be treated as enemies of the British Government."

To quote the words of the correspondent of the *Pioneer*, this proclamation was issued

"As a test of the disposition of the citizens, in deterring the soldiers from attempting to defend the place, as their position would be untenable were the feeling of the people shown to be against them."

It was perhaps due to the issue of this Proclamation that when the British troops entered Cabul, they found the city deserted.

Neither Yakub Khan nor his army had ever thought that the British Government, would again so soon plunge their country into the horrors of a war. Accordingly they were quite unprepared. But when the news of the imprisonment of Yakub Khan was made known to his soldiers, they tried to oppose the British advance. But the Afghan troops, owing to the rapid advance of the British force, had no time to organize and oppose Roberts' column. However, on the 6th October 1879, a battle was fought at Charasia, in which the Afghans were defeated. The road to Cabul now was clear. General Roberts with the British troops reached Cabul on the 10th October 1879.



So long the Amir Yakub Khan's authority was proclaimed as justifying all the acts of General Roberts; it was given out that the British army was advancing on Cabul to punish the rebels against His Highness. But on reaching Cabul, General Roberts changed his tactics. The presence of the Ameer in the British camp served the gallant Christian general a great and useful purpose. It facilitated his advance on Cabul. But now it was necessary to get rid of him, for in no other way was it possible to make Afghanistan a British territory. In his work on forty-one years in India, Lord Roberts writes;—"the Amir was in my camp ready to agree to whatever I might propose." So it does not require much intelligence to understand that Roberts proposed to the Ameer to abdicate the throne of Afghanistan.

"My doubts as to what policy I ought to pursue", writes Lord Roberts, "with regard to Yakub Khan, were all solved by his own action on the morning of the 12th. October\* He came to my tent before I was dressed, and asked for an interview, which was, of course, accorded. My Royal visitor, then and there announced that he had come to resign the Amir-ship..... His life, he said, had been most miserable, and he would rather be a grass-cutter in the English camp than ruler of Afghanistan."

This reads like a dramatic performance carefully rehearsed before and merely enacted by the Amir at the bidding of Roberts to make the world believe that he abdicated the throne of Afghanistan out of his free will. Does it not appear very remarkable that the Amir should have voluntarily abdicated his throne on the day of the Durbar and the imprisonment of his ministers and relatives on mere suspicion? The coincidence is so significant that none but a fool would believe that Yakub abdicated the throne on the 12th October out of his free will and choice.

The official records do not mention why Yakub Khan was led to take such an unusual step. We are not furnished with any satisfactory reply to the question, "What made Yakub Khan take such a step"? In a footnote to his work above referred to, Roberts writes.

"At an interview which Major Hastings, the political officer, and W. Durand, my Political

Secretary, had with his highness at my request on the 23rd October, he said, referring to the subject of the Amirship: 'I call God and the Koran to witness, and every thing a Musalman holds sacred, that my only desire is to be set free, and end my days in liberty. ... I earnestly beg to be set free.'

From this it appears that he abdicated the throne either by having been persuaded to do so by Roberts, or that the imprisonment in the British camp had become so unbearable to him that he earnestly begged to be set free so that he might end his days in liberty, and therefore he was even willing to abdicate the throne of Afghanistan. That Yakub Khan's abdication was not quite voluntary would appear clear to any one who reads between the lines of the letter written by the correspondent of the *Pioneer* from Camp Siah Sung, on the 28th October 1879, when he wrote:

"This morning only did it become publicly known that Yakub Khan had abdicated the Amirship,

*"Up to this afternoon it was believed that the Ex-Amir was acting in good faith, but within the last few hours we have had reason to change our opinion."*

To-day has been marked by a new change of front on the part of Yakub Khan. Whatever his fears or suspicions may be, he has withdrawn so far from his position of the 12th,—that he has contemplated flight to Turkistan. Such at least, is the information generally believed to have been received; and the action taken this afternoon proves that he has so far committed himself as to jeopardize his future freedom. About five o'clock his tent was isolated by the removal of all those of his servants pitched about it: his guard was increased to forty British soldiers, and instead of two sentries there are now four pacing to and fro with fixed bayonets. A fifth sentry is within the tent itself, and the Ex-Amir is as close a prisoner as he can be made. Four personal attendants only are now allowed to him, and these, also, are under guard."

The sentences italicised in the above passage bear a very significant commentary on the alleged voluntary abdication of the throne of Afghanistan by Yakub Khan. On the 28th October 1879, when news was received that Lord Lytton had approved of the abdication by Yakub, it was considered a stroke of policy to closely confine that unfortunate Afghan Prince because it was alleged that he contemplated flight to Turkistan! Yakub's voluntary abdication resembles on all fours the abdication of the throne of Kashmir by the Dogra Prince of the Happy Valley in 1889, with this exception that while the public know, thanks to Bradlaugh and Digby, how the latter was

\* On the same day (12th. Oct.) Roberts held his Durbar in the Bala Hissar, when, as narrated further on, the Amir's ministers and father-in-law were imprisoned by the gallant General.



obliged to take that step by the machinations of the British Resident, the true account of Yakub's abdication is still enshrouded in mystery. Roberts was prejudiced against Yakub and suspected him of conniving at, if not instigating, the attack on the Residency at Bala Hissar. He writes in his "Forty-one Years in India" that the truth of the murder of Cavagnari could not be discovered, as the people were afraid to give evidence fearing that they would be punished for so doing on the withdrawal of the British Force from Afghanistan and on the restoration of the authority of Yakub. The *Pioneer's* correspondent wrote on the 20th October 1879 from Camp Siah Sung ;

"It has been no easy matter to collect evidence in Kabul, many witnesses being afraid of after consequences, if they bore testimony to the conduct of men under suspicion. We have not notified in any way what is to be the duration of our stay here, and once our protection over our well-wishers is removed, their fate may be readily imagined. There is no one who cherishes revenge more fervently than an Afghan, and every witness would be marked down by the kinsmen of those against whom he had appeared."

Does it not appear then clear that it was considered political expediency by Lord Roberts to make Yakub Khan abdicate the throne in order to facilitate the task of the Military Commission of Inquiry which had been appointed on the very day the British Force occupied Kabul? Roberts suspected Yakub and his ministers as accomplices in the murder of Cavagnari. To prove that his suspicions were well-grounded, he made Yakub take the suicidal step, very likely under threats and promises, just as it is not an uncommon thing in India for the police to extort confessions from suspected persons. Roberts never concealed the fact that he suspected Yakub and therefore kept him a prisoner in his camp. On the 23rd October, the same correspondent to whom reference has already been made, and who was on that date ignorant of the fact that Yakub Khan had been made to abdicate the throne, wrote :

"Our relations with the Amir are on a different footing, though it would puzzle a Russian diplomatist to say what is the basis of our policy. It is a mixture of suspicion, forbearance and contempt. Once Yakub Khan had thrown himself upon our protection and disowned the acts of the mutineers, his personal safety was assured, and this no doubt was his first aim. But how much further did he mean to go? That he heartily desired his turbulent regiments to be punished one can well believe, and that he schemed to save Cabul from the fate it had courted is quite

possible ; but unless an accomplice in their acts, he could not have expected that his most trusted ministers and kinsmen would be arrested and himself confined to our camp. Here he must see our suspicion peeping out ; but then mark our forbearance. In our proclamations rebellion against the Amir has been cited as worthy of death ; we are living upon tribute grain collected as due to him ; the citizens of Cabul have been declared 'rebels against His Highness,' and our Military Governor of the city is 'administering justice and punishing with a strong hand, all evil-doers' with his 'consent.' The Amir's authority is proclaimed as justification for many of our acts ; and yet at the same time we loot his citadel, and seize upon, as spoils of war, all guns and munitions of war ; our campfollowers are masquerading in the warm uniforms of Afghan Highlanders. This is the feature of contempt in our policy. The drift of evidence seems now fairly in his (Amir Yakub Khan's) favour."

But when the abdication of the Amir became known "the drift of evidence" was all against him. The same correspondent, writing on the 30th October 1879, says :

"There is no bottom to the well in which Afghan truth was sunk ages ago, and it is disheartening to sound it now. The ex-Amir's partisans have lied honestly enough to shield their master, while he was still protected by us : but now that he is a nonentity and all semblance of power has passed from him, there may be a change in their attitude. They have a certain rule of faithfulness to their salt ; but when they see their Chief arrested without a word of warning, after being allowed to move freely among us for weeks, their fortitude may not be equal to the emergency, and they may seek to purchase their own safety by voluntary disclosures."

Whether these witnesses spoke the truth when they gave evidence against Yakub, is a matter which they and their conscience alone know, but this much is certain that they purchased their own safety by so doing because such evidence was pleasing to the prejudiced minds of the military officers who had occupied Afghanistan.

Lord Roberts writes :

"The progress (of the Inquiry Commission) had been slow, particularly when examination touched on the part Yakub Khan had played in the tragedy ; witnesses were afraid to give evidence openly until they were convinced that he would not be re-established in a position to avenge himself."

So then it is evident that to get "the witnesses to give evidence openly against Yakub Khan" it was necessary to assure them that that prince would never again rule over them. Such is the story of the "voluntary abdication of the throne of Afghanistan by Yakub Khan."



On the 12th October 1879, General Roberts invited all the leading chiefs of Afghanistan to a durbar held by him on that date. They attended the durbar, when the gallant general read out to him his Proclamation, in which it was announced that the people of Cabul would be disarmed and placed under martial law. He said :—

"It would be but a just and fitting reward \* \* if the city of Cabul were now totally destroyed and its very name blotted out. But the great British government is ever desirous to temper justice with mercy, and I now announce to the inhabitants of Cabul that the full retribution for their offence will not be exacted, and the city will be spared. Nevertheless it is necessary that they should not escape all penalty, and that the punishment inflicted should be such as will be felt and remembered. Therefore, such of the city buildings as now interfere with the proper military occupation of the Bala Hissar, and the safety and comfort of the British troops to be quartered in it, will be at once levelled with the ground, and further a heavy fine, the amount of which will be notified hereafter, will be imposed upon the inhabitants, to be paid according to their several capabilities. This punishment, inflicted upon the whole city, will not, of course, absolve from further penalties those whose individual guilt will be held hereafter proved. A full and searching inquiry will be held into the circumstances of the late outbreak, and all persons convicted of bearing a part in it will be dealt with according to their deserts. I further give notice to all that in order to provide for the restoration and maintenance of order, the city of Cabul and the surrounding country to a distance of ten miles are placed under martial law. With the consent of the Amir, a military governor of Cabul will be appointed to administer justice, and to punish with a strong hand all evil-doers. ... For the future the carrying of dangerous weapons, whether swords, knives, or fire-arms, within the streets of Cabul, or within a distance of five miles from the city gates, is forbidden. After a week from the date of this Proclamation, any person found armed within these limits will be liable to the penalty of death. ... Finally, I notify that I will give a reward of Rs. 50 for the surrender of any person, whether soldier or civilian, concerned in the attack on the British embassy, or for such information as may lead directly to his capture. ..."

The Durbar did not pass off without imprisoning some of the important officers in the employ of the Afghan Ruler. General Roberts asked the Wazir, the Mustaufi, Zahiga Khan (father-in-law of the Amir), and his brother Zakariah Khan to stay as he wished to speak to them.

"They doubtless thought that they were to be consulted on questions of high policy, but their chagrin was great when they were told that they have to remain as prisoners until their conduct had been thoroughly investigated".\*

This in plain language meant a treacherous act which the gallant general practised with an easy conscience.

The measures adopted by the enraged Europeans engaged in the task of suppressing the Indian Mutiny of 1857, now found favor with General Roberts and his officers. As soon as Cabul was captured, a military commission, consisting of three military officers, was appointed, with the object of trying all those persons who were concerned in the attack on the Residency or those who offered armed resistance to the advance of the British troops with the Amir under their protection on Cabul. This commission pronounced the sentence of death on all those who were brought before it. It was a pleasant occupation for British officers and men to see poor Afghans hanged day after day. The correspondent of the *Pioneer* wrote on the 23rd October 1879 :—

"Ten o'clock is the hour at which men are generally hanged; and now daily, a little crowd of soldiers, camp-followers, and traders from the city gathers near the 72nd quarter-guard. ... The soldiers in shirtsleeves and with the favourite short pipe in their mouths, betray but faint curiosity, looking upon the culprits with hearty contempt and only regretful that they have not had to meet them in fair fight."

All the sentences pronounced by the commission were confirmed by General Roberts, harshly and executed within twenty-four hours. The proceedings of the commission, at last, attracted the attention of the public in England, and General Roberts' conduct was very severely criticized. Roberts' proclamation of the prize-money of Rs. 50 made many a poor and hungry Afghan accuse their enemies and thus earn the reward. The leaders were not captured. To quote again the correspondent of the *Pioneer*.—

"It makes one exasperated to see the rank and file of these wretches being marched off to execution, while their leaders are still at large, and but few of the Cabul rabble have been brought to account. One grows sick of hanging ten common men a day."

Roberts' Military Law had the effect of quieting Cabul, for

"The shadow of the scaffold is over it, and not one among the ruffians who throng its narrow streets, and hides its filthy purloins, but feels its influence. They have hitherto traded upon our known weakness—the worship of the quality of mercy,—and it is only now that they understand the new principle of retribution we have

of the *Pioneer*, from Camp Siah Sung, 12th October 1879.

\*—Extract from the letter of the correspondent



introduced into our policy. ... Whether we withdraw again or not there will be the tale of lives taken by our hangmen still to be counted over in the city and the villages." \*

General Roberts had after all to yield to the clamour raised against his hanging the innocent and the guilty alike provided that a few witnesses swore as to their taking part in the attack on the Residency or the resistance against the advance of the British on Cabul. On the 12th November 1879, he issued his proclamation of amnesty in which he withdrew the offer of reward as announced by him in the Darbar on the 12th October. His blood-thirstiness was satiated with the judicial murder of many men carried on uninterruptedly for a period of one month. The hanging of those men who fought for their hearths and homes by resisting the advance of the British on Cabul will always remain an indelible stain on the character of General Roberts and the Government he was serving under. He knew fully well that the Amir was a prisoner in his camp. He knew also that the people of Afghanistan who resisted his advance had good reasons for believing that the Amir had been made a prisoner by him while he visited his camp as his guest. Knowing all these facts, it puzzles us to understand, how General Roberts could honestly and conscientiously proclaim to the people of Afghanistan:—

"I hold out no promise of pardon to those who, well knowing the Amir's position in the British camp, instigated the troops and people of Cabul to take up arms against the British troops. They have been guilty of wilful rebellion against the Ameer's authority, and they will be considered and treated as rebels wherever found."

The special commission consisting of Colonel Macgregor, Dr. Bellad and Mahammad Hayat Khan, appointed to inquire into the conduct of Yakub Khan and those high officers of Afghanistan whom General Roberts treacherously imprisoned in the Darbar on the 12th October 1879, carried on their proceedings within closed doors. Witnesses were examined by the members of the commission, but the accused had no opportunity to cross-examine them or know the nature of their

evidence. The character of at least one member of the commission, that of Mahammad Hayat Khan, was not above suspicion. It was hoped that in due course the government would publish a connected narrative of the events of the Cabul affairs and the world at large would then be able to judge on what basis of proof suspicions against Yakub Khan and his ministers had rested. Contrary to expectation no such narrative has ever been published. But Roberts writes that the perusal of the proceedings satisfied him that Yakub and his ministers were guilty of all those crimes which he had suspected against them. He recommended their deportation to India. Lord Lytton, as he was bound to do, approved of Roberts' recommendation, so the unhappy prince, whose only fault was that he placed implicit trust in the good faith of the British Government, was despatched by double marches to India on the 1st December 1879. With his departure, the future of Afghanistan looked very gloomy. It seemed as if the Afghans were to lose their independence for ever. The government of India appeared to take over charge of Afghanistan on the alleged voluntary abdication of its throne by Yakub Khan. Roberts' proclamation of the 28th October 1879, left hardly any doubt in the minds of the Afghan people what the future government of their country would be like. In this proclamation, it was announced

"that the Amir having of his own free will abdicated, has left Afghanistan without a Government. In consequence of the shameful outrage upon its envoy and suite the British Government has been compelled to occupy by force of arms Cabul, the capital, and take military possession of other parts of Afghanistan. ... The British Government desires that the people shall be treated with justice and benevolence, and that their religious feelings and customs be respected. ... The British Government after consultation with the principal Sirdars, tribal chiefs, and others representing the interests and wishes of the various provinces and cities, will declare its will as to the future permanent arrangement to be made for the good government of the people."

It is said that the Disraeli (or rather Beaconsfield) Ministry caused the Government of India to authorize General Roberts to issue this proclamation. Afghanistan now was virtually made a British province.

\* The *Pioneer* correspondent in his letter dated 12th November 1879.



# DONOUGHMORE DYARCHY FOR CEYLON\*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

## I

THE recommendations made by the Special Commission on the Ceylon Constitution presided over by the Earl of Donoughmore, are, as I anticipated in an article entitled *Ceylon's Political Emancipation* printed in the issue of this Review for July 1927, meant to strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy in the Island, which is still predominately British. If those proposals are adopted, such power over the permanent officials as, through the holding of the purse strings, the existing Legislative Council has managed to acquire, will completely disappear and the public servants, instead of being under complete parliamentary control as they are in Britain and the self-governing Dominions, will become a law unto themselves, owing no responsibility to any Ceylonese individual or organization. The Governor who, according to statements publicly made by the present incumbent of that office and by his predecessor, had, in the natural course of constitutional evolution in the Island, become practically powerless, is not to become a figure-head, as in the case of the representatives of the King in the Dominions, but is to be armed with formidable powers which, it is expressly stated, are to be created, for actual use and not for mere ornamentation.

In view of the circumstances in which the Commission was appointed, nothing else could have been expected. As I noted in *"Ceylon's Political Emancipation,"* it was called into being at the request of a British pro-consul (Sir Hugh Clifford) who, according to his own statement, "had left his own country at the age of seventeen"; since then had spent only "an aggregate of ninety months in" the land of his birth; and had not stepped into "the House of Commons more than a dozen times in the last forty-one years." Having reached his sixty-first year while ruling British possessions in

Asia and Africa, he had acquired the temperament and habits associated with personal rule and had developed an antipathy toward the parliamentary type of Government. During the short period that he was Governor of Ceylon he naturally chafed at such power as the Legislative Council exercised; as, indeed, did the other British permanent officials. Speaking for them quite as much as for himself, he declared at a dinner party that the existing Constitution gave the Un-official Members of that Council "complete liberty to paralyse the Executive at any moment by declining to vote supplies."

The reference that the Colonial Office made to the Commission that it appointed in conformity with the plea put forward by that pro-consul showed that the virus had taken effect. That Commission was instructed.

"To visit Ceylon and report on the working of the existing Constitution and on any difficulties of administration which may have arisen in connection with it; to consider any proposals for the revision of the Constitution that may be put forward, and to report what, if any, amendments of the Order in Council now in force should be made."

An examination of these instructions shows that the Commission was not appointed for determining ways and means for devolving further powers upon the Ceylonese. The people in the Island had not, in fact, asked for such devolution. They, on the contrary, felt that the existing Constitution would not be changed for at least ten years. A statement to that effect was made by the Duke of Devonshire, then presiding over the Colonial Office in the despatch in which he communicated his final decision regarding the last series of reforms.

If any Ceylonese individual or association had pressed for constitutional reform the Colonial Office would have lost no time in issuing a ukase pointing to that declaration and refusing to reopen the question before the expiry of the prescribed period, say until 1933. The officials, however, wished for their own purposes, to put the Constitution in the melting pot and they treated that pronouncement as a scrap of paper.

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## II

The Colonial Office must have exercised great care in choosing the men to whom could be entrusted, the task of re-writing Ceylon's Constitution so that the officials would no longer be in the grip of the Ceylonese legislators. As the sequel shows no better selection could have been made to ensure that object.

The Earl of Donoughmore, whom the Colonial Office placed at the head of the inquiry, was Irish by descent and British by education and residence. As Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords he had had great experience in dealing with questions of highly controversial character and had acquired much tact in handling men. He, for that reason, had been specially selected from among the members of the Conservative Party by Edwin Samuel Montague to accompany him on his visit to India for the purpose of consulting Lord Chelmsford and other officials in regard to constitutional reforms. During 1921, when Lloyd George was talking of having "murder" in Ireland "by the throat" and Earl of Birkenhead was declaring war to the knife against the "Irish rebels," the Irish blood flowing in Lord Donoughmore's veins caught fire and he, I am told, joined hands with several others to bring warfare to end and have the issues outstanding between the Irish and the British settled by consent.

Sir Mathew Nathan, who was associated with the Earl of Donoughmore in the Ceylon enquiry, is a Liberal of a type that has virtually disappeared. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, when I was in journalism in Hongkong, he was Governor of that Colony and was esteemed by every one I knew as a man of kindly disposition. After leaving Hongkong he held high office in other parts of the Empire, including Australasia and Ireland.

Sir Geoffrey Butler, who was also appointed to the Special Commission, comes of a family two members of which Sir Harcourt and Sir Montagu have held governorships of Indian provinces. He belongs to that group of young Conservatives who call themselves "Tory-Democrats." A man of exceptional ability, he has a charming manner, as I can attest from personal experience.

The only other member of the Special Commission, Dr. T. Drummond Shiels, is a Socialist of the mild variety known as Fabian.

He went to the war with Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* in his pocket and came back with a Military Cross. He entered the House of Commons after I had left England; but when I came across him in Canada year before last, especially after renewing his acquaintance in Ceylon, I formed the belief that he would not remain a Labour backbencher for long. He has the Scotsman's caninness, great social talents and untiring industry; and if he has half a chance he will go very far.

The Colonial Office appointed Mr. F. A. Clutterbuck, one of its most competent Civil Servants, as Secretary to the Commission.

These, then, were the men who were asked to find a way to get over the difficulties that grated upon the nerves of an Orientalized British pro-consul, as, indeed, they roused resentment in British Officials in general who had come out to *rule* Ceylon, not *serve* her. After reading their report I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that they showed rare ingenuity in performing that task. I cannot conceive of any set of men who would have done the very difficult job entrusted to them more efficiently.

## III

Two separate streams run through the pages of the report tendered by the Donoughmore Commission to the Colonial Office. One of them is "profession." The other is "performance." Or one may be called "good intentions" and the other "recommendations." The two run side by side, but never mingle. To the end of the volume they remain quite distinct.

The good intentions expressed by the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues do them credit. They profess to give the Ceylonese virtually all the powers of responsible government "the responsibility of managing their own internal affairs, subject only to certain safeguards in the background", as they say. They tell them that they do not propose to reserve any subjects of administration, or to divide the Budget into compartments. They are not enamoured of the Indian device of dyarchy, which Mr. Lionel Curtis claims was invented by Sir William Duke of the Indian Civil Service and later of the India Office, but which Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer declares, is as old as Rome. Neither the Chairman nor his colleagues, would in any case, touch it with a ten foot pole. (So they say). Subject to a few constitutional safeguards and some



reserve power to be used by the Governor in critical moments, they propose to make the Ceylonese supreme in the managements of their own affairs. These are indeed sentiments worthy of respect.

Perhaps because I have spent so large a portion of my life in Britain, I am a matter-of-fact man. I do not, therefore, wish to delve into the good intentions expressed by the Commissioners, but confine myself to a searching examination of the recommendations that they have actually made.

Such an analysis shows that both in respect of composition and functions, the Commissioners have recommended the creation of a system which if it comes into being, should become known as the "Donoughmore dyarchy." Their proposals, if adopted as they stand, would abridge the legislative powers enjoyed by the Ceylonese under the present Constitution in many matters, instead of giving them new powers. They would particularly make it impossible for any Ceylonese to exercise any control whatever over the Executive, and if the Ceylonese who, under the Donoughmore dispensation, are called to office or become members of the projected State Council, show any spark of manhood, administrative complexities and crises would be inevitable.

These are conclusions which the perusal of the Donoughmore Commission report have forced upon me. I have nothing to do with Ceylon politics and I am personally biased, if anything in favour of the Commissioners.

#### IV

I shall now proceed to state the reasons which have made me arrive at these conclusions.

—First, as to the Donoughmore dyarchy :

The organ of Government that the Commissioners propose to set up in Ceylon will consist of two separate elements. One will be white, the other will be brown. The differentiation in colour and race would hardly matter if the white section were recruited from the permanent population of the Island and were it not there merely for a time for gainful purposes.

The two sections will be different in other respects as well. A part of the governing body will neither be appointed by nor will it be answerable to any authority in Ceylon. Even the emoluments of the members composing it will be outside the

control of the legislature, which in fact, will not be able to enforce its will upon them. Persons composing the other section will, on the other hand, have their roots sunk in Ceylon's soil and their tenure of office will depend entirely upon the pleasure of the State Council, as the new legislature is to be called.

If these arrangements are not of a dyarchic character, I should like to know what a dyarchical institution really is.

Group number one, irremovable by the Ceylon legislature, is to consist of three permanent officials. They are to be known as Officers of State. Each of them will receive emoluments upon a scale determined by the Colonial Office, will be answerable for his actions to that Office through its agent in Ceylon—the Governor—and will look to that Office for the protection of his interests while he is in the Island. Yet all the three are to be superimposed upon the legislature. None of them is to have the privilege of voting, but each of them is to enjoy the status of a Minister.

The second group may or may not consist entirely of Ceylonese. It is expected that a number of Britons engaged in growing tea or rubber or other products in the Island will be returned by certain constituencies and one or more of them may be called to ministerial office. Whether that development takes place or not, the seven Ministers are to owe responsibility to the State Council, and are not to be laws unto themselves, as the Officers of State will inevitably be.

Peculiar devices have been improvised by the Donoughmore Commission for the appointment of the Ministers. To understand their nature, it is necessary to know something of the projected State Council. It is to consist of :

(a) the aforementioned three Officers of State :

(b) sixty-five members elected by various constituencies upon an exclusively territorial basis : and

(c) some twelve members, of whom as many as six may be non-official Britons, to be nominated by the Governor.

The Council is to sit in Executive as well as Legislative Session. Immediately after assembling the elected and nominated members (some seventy-seven in number) are to resolve themselves into seven committees. Each of these committees is to elect its own President, and that person,



*if the Governor has no objection to him, will enjoy the status of a Minister. (The italics are mine.)*

This new-fangled system will naturally make it impossible for even those Ministers who are not merely in the legislature but are also of it, to be responsible in the manner in which Ministers are responsible to Parliament at Westminster or in any of the Dominions. Each Executive Committee being mandatory and in no sense advisory, is to hold the poor Minister in the hollow of its hand. He nevertheless is to be "individually responsible," together with his respective committee, "to the Council for the direction and control of the department."

It is difficult to understand why the Minister should be *individually* held responsible for acts which may have originated with the Committee or which may have been forced upon him.

The Commissioners have been so chary of giving details in respect of this system and the language they employ in giving such particulars as they have vouchsafed is so ambiguous that it is impossible to tell what they mean when, in addition to making each Minister individually responsible, they make him responsible together with his Executive Committee as well. Just what they mean passes my understanding. Perhaps it passes their understanding, too: for other parts of the report show that when a thing is intelligible to them they do not lack the gift of language to make it clear to others.

The Commissioners justify the creation of these seven standing Committees on the plea that political parties do not at present exist in Ceylon and they can come into being only along racial and religious lines. I do not agree with the latter assumption, since the line of political cleavage is already visible to any person who comes to look beneath the surface. The system which Lord Donoughmore and his colleagues propose will *artificially* split the state council into seven more or less water-tight compartments.

It is idle to ask if any Ceylonese with a spark of manhood would assume office under a system so manifestly unfair. A Ministership has great glamour even for persons belonging to nations that have not been in subjection for centuries as has been the case with the Ceylonese. The Commissioners have besides, recommended a salary of Rs. 27,000 per annum—an amount which few Ceylonese who have not inherited or married money

are able to earn. The suggestion that they have conveyed that they were offering Ceylon a form of government more democratic than that which exists in any country in Europe or America, moreover, tickles the fancy especially of some of the younger politicians who have yet to cut their wisdom teeth. I can, therefore, conceive that the Ceylonese will be falling over one another in the scramble for ministerships.

It is more profitable to turn from these speculations to the recommendations made by the Commissioners which, if adopted, would enable the three permanent officials who, without being made responsible to the State Council, are to be given the status of Ministers, to be able to administer the respective departments placed in their charge. To explain why they are thus merciful to their own countrymen—for it is not to be assumed for a moment that Ceylonese are normally to be appointed to hold one or more of these offices of State—the Earl of Donoughmore and his associates put forward the plea that "the functions of these officers will be largely advisory and the activities of their departments implementary of the decisions of the Council."

## V

These words have a soothing sound. I have, however, lived too long among the British to be lulled into somnolence by such jingles. What is precisely their import?

An examination of the functions that the Donoughmore Commission reserve to these irresponsible officers of State—I am merely using constitutional phraseology and—those that they propose to transfer to their colleagues elected to the Council and responsible to it in the peculiar manner suggested by the Commission, will show exactly the position the two wings of the Donoughmore dyarchy will occupy in the administration of Ceylon if it is to be modelled upon that pattern.

The principal among the three Officers of State is to be known as the Chief Secretary. Hitherto Britons who had distinguished themselves in other parts of the Empire have held the analogous office—that of Colonial Secretary—and some of them have been liberal-minded and statesmanlike. I can speak from personal knowledge in those terms of two of them—the present incumbent of that office—Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher; and one of his predecessors—Mr. Graeme Thompson. The Commissioners, how-



ever, recommend that in future a man who has grown up in the Ceylon Civil Service shall be made the Chief Secretary; and if their proposal is given effect to, it will mean that Britons bound about with local prejudices will occupy the most important position in the Ceylon administration.

Whatever may happen in this respect, the Chief Secretary will, according to the Donoughmore scheme, control External Affairs, including affairs, concerning the Maldive Islands, which constitute a dependency of Ceylon. He will also be in charge of Defence, including Volunteer Corps or the Defence Force, to adopt the more modern phraseology. The drafting of legislation is further to be his concern. Lastly, and perhaps most important of all, he is to control Public Service administration. Such importance do the Commissioners attach to that matter that they specifically reserve to him the making of appointments and even transfers and matters pertaining to discipline. As I have already hinted and as I shall show later in detail, all officials of any importance are not only to be under the control of the Chief Secretary, who is to be irresponsible but they themselves are to be outside Ceylonese legislative control.

The Chief Secretary is also to keep an eye on the Audit Department.

While the Attorney-General, another member of this trinity, is not to be entrusted with the drafting of legislation, he will nevertheless prepare all legal instruments and contracts and advise the Government on all legal questions. He will also be responsible for the conduct of elections. He will further control the administration of justice. Justice in other words, is not to be a transferred subject.

The third member of the trinity—the Treasurer—will perform the functions that in constitutional countries are reserved for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, as the custodian of the money-bags, is able to dominate administration. He is to be responsible for the collection, disbursement and custody of revenue from whatever source; and the preparation of the annual Budget and estimates and of supplementary estimates. His advice is to be sought on taxation, exchange, loans, currency and other matters pertaining to financial policy. He is to control the investment of State funds, including the making of loans to local authorities, etc., as also the management of the public debt. Finally, he

is to supervise financially all departments, including contracts, stores, financial regulation of Public Services, strength of establishments, leave regulations, salaries, pensions and allowances.

The Commissioners insist upon placing the Treasurer in a position which will enable him to "be in intimate touch with the financial aspect of all questions from their inception." They further insist that he shall "be given an ample opportunity of expressing his opinion from the financial point of view in the initial stage of a proposal, in the intermediate stage at the Board of Ministers (of which more later), and in the final stage of discussion in the Council." He is to have both "the status and authority of a Minister," but he is not to have the responsibilities of a Minister. Unless he certifies that a Bill is free from provisions that will affect the financial credit of the Island, the State Council cannot proceed with it. The Treasurer will, in fact, be the Mussolini of the Donoughmore dyarchy.

It took genius of the highest order to sum up, in innocent sounding phrases, functions of such diverse and vital character entrusted to these three permanent officials completely outside the control of the legislature but who, through control of (a) the Public Servants and (b) the coffers of the State, or (c) on the plea of legal objections, would be able to exercise a formidable check upon the elected Ministers. The British have such genius in superabundance. They however, make a great mistake when they delude themselves into the belief that the nations under their political subjection lack at least a few individuals who possess the wit to lift the cloak in order to see the form over which it is thrown.

Do External Affairs or matters pertaining to Military, Naval and Aerial Defence of the Island fall into the category of "advisory" functions, or are they to be classed as functions "implementary of the decisions of the Council?"

Though I have examined the report from cover with the greatest care, I have not been able to come to any decision in regard to the authority, if any, that the Council is to exercise over these Departments. The statements that the Commissioners have permitted themselves to make in these connections are both scrappy and ambiguous. In the matter of defence of the Island they write:

"Among the Imperial affairs referred to above



is one of vital importance, viz. ; the defence of the Island. In this matter we do not contemplate any change in the well-understood relations between the Governor as Commander-in-Chief and the Officer Commanding the Troops.

"On the question of direction by the Governor (in this and in matters affecting external relations) we think it necessary to state that while we are definitely of opinion that those affairs for which the Imperial Government is responsible to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and to the people of the whole Empire, should remain under Imperial direction, we are not fearful that there will be any desire on the part of the representatives of the people of Ceylon so to order the policy of the Island as in any way to militate against the general interest of the Commonwealth of Nations to which they belong, or against the special interests of the people of Great Britain who have commercial, financial or other connection with the Island. What we heard and saw in Ceylon, the treatment meted out to ourselves there, the respect we observed to be shown on all occasions to His Excellency and to his High Office, the candid recognition to us of benefits derived from the long association of the Island to (with?) the United Kingdom, all forbid this fear."

The Ceylonese will no doubt be grateful for the trust that the Commissioners have thus shown in their good sense. Do these statements imply, however, that the legislature of the future will have nothing to say in external affairs and defence of every description, while having the privilege of voting supplies? Notwithstanding the trust that the Commissioners wish to repose in the Ceylonese, they have devised machinery whereby any obstreperousness upon the part of the Council in respect of such supplies can be easily and automatically overcome, while they deny to that Council the right of entertaining, much less passing, any Bill dealing with such matters, unless the British themselves ask it to do so.

And pray why should the activities of departments which are entrusted with functions "implementary of the decisions of the Council" be reserved in a system supposed to be constitutional, to persons who themselves are not made responsible to the legislature? No procedure could, in my judgment, be prescribed that would more completely secure the negation of responsibility than this.

## VI

The allocation of the remaining functions of government to the Ministers—the junior partners in the Donoughmore dyarchy—does not call for any comment. I have already noted that in administering the department over which they are supposed to preside

they will have to reckon with the Executive Committees, and not merely with the legislature, as is the case in Britain and the British Dominions. That is, however, only one of the entanglements that have been specially created by the Commission for their benefit.

Each Minister is, for instance, to be "provided with a permanent official Secretary who would be a member of the Ceylon Civil Service" or at any rate of one or another of the superior Services. The grade in which that permanent official is serving is to be such that he will not be able to assume "a position of official superiority" when dealing with the heads of departments—his fellow permanent officials. He is, however, to act as "intermediary between the Chairman and, the heads of departments as the latter did not consider a case for direct personal touch." The "latter," of course, refers to the permanent officials occupying the position of heads of departments. The poor Minister evidently is not to have even as much initiative as they. He, it appears, is to be in the grip of the Secretary.

It has already been noted that none of the Ministers is to be competent to make appointments or even transfers in any of the departments he is supposed to administer. That power has been reserved to the permanent official who is to be known as the Chief Secretary and is to belong to their own caste and, at any rate in case of most high officials, also to their own race.

It needs, however, to be added that none of the high officials is to be under the control of the Minister placed at the head of the department in which they serve in the sense that public servants in Britain and the British Dominions are under the control of their political chiefs. In those countries the legislators, as a body, hold in the hollow of their hand all permanent officials, be they great or small, drawing large emoluments or in receipt of mere pittance.

The Donoughmore Commission actually recommend the abridgement of the control which the existing legislature in Ceylon possesses and exercises over officials in precisely the same manner, i.e., through the power of the purse. They propose that its successor, the State Council, shall have only the right of "*comment and criticism*" in respect of "all matters affecting the pay and allowances, pensions, prospects and conditions of service of public officers."



(The italics are mine). The scale for emoluments and conditions of service are to be laid down by Whitehall with the assistance of an "independent" Commission (independent, no doubt, because it is to be appointed from Britain and will consist, largely, if not exclusively, of Britons). And the decision of Whitehall in all service matters is to be final and binding upon the Ceylonese who will have to post the bill.

The Donoughmore Commission seek to give the impression that there is nothing in these proposals that is out of the way. The talk about "independence" and "fairness" would come better from them if positions carrying large salaries in Ceylon were not the monopoly of their people and they did not show anxiety to reserve a very considerable percentage of such posts for their own people for a long time to come. They moreover, suggest increase in the emoluments, partly on the plea that their countrymen are exiles "from the temperate climate which is their birthright" and partly because they must preserve "a standard of living and hospitality in keeping with their own traditions and those of a Service which for over 125 years has represented a great Imperial Power." So solicitous were they for the welfare of their countrymen serving in Ceylon (or is it ruling Ceylon?) that they did not forget to ask "whether some arrangement could not be made by Government for the storing of furniture of officers proceeding on leave of absence from the Island." The Commissioners wish, on the other hand, to enforce a "Ceylonese standard upon all Ceylonese serving in their own country, in tropical conditions, their birthright." The economy thus effected would go some way in meeting the increased expenditure upon the British officials.

I must point out that the benefits that the Donoughmore Commission wish to confer are not to be limited to the permanent officials already in the employ of the Ceylon Government, but are to be extended to all those "who may in future be recruited for posts under the Ceylon Government the filling of which is subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies" and all important posts I note, are to be reserved for the signification of his approval.

The Commissioners cap these proposals with another series of recommendations which would give an "unqualified" right to enable any official (including even the

Ceylonese) recruited before the publication of their report to retire from the Service and demand "proportionate pension with compensation for loss of career." That option is to be "continuous" and not to last only "for a specified period."

In the space at my disposal I have not been able to deal at as great length as I should have liked with the "safeguards" proposed by the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues. I hope however that I have, indicated their drift sufficiently to enable the reader to realise that the high officials who will serve under the Ceylonese Ministers, will be their "subordinates," in mere name, and their masters in reality.

## VII

The Ministers, even in their relations with their Executive Committees, are to be under the oversight of the permanent officials. The "Civil"—or the "Public"—Servant who is to act as the Secretary is to be present. So will be the head of the department concerned in the proposals under discussion. They will, of course, be there to assist the Minister. The head of the department, though at liberty to join in the discussion, is not to have any vote, and I dare say the Secretary will be in a similar position. The senior partner of the Donoughmore dyarchy—the permanent official occupying the position of Chief Secretary—is to "have the right to attend" any such meeting "either personally or by deputy" and may speak but cannot vote. I presume the remaining two senior partners of the dyarchy—the Treasurer and the Attorney-General—may be invited to be present, if necessary. They will, in any case, have their fingers in the pie, for hardly any important governmental matter can be divorced from financial or legal considerations.

The Commissioners take particular pains to emphasize, that the Governor is to be appraised of what happens in the administration. The Agenda of Executive Committee meetings will be placed simultaneously before him and the members. The substance of discussions relating to important matters is to be communicated to him.

Then there is to be a Board of "Ministers." I have placed the word Minister in inverted commas because it is used in the Donoughmore Commission sense and not in the ordinary constitutional connotation.



That Board is to consist of the three "Officers of State" and the seven "Ministers." The Chief Secretary is to be its *ex-officio* Chairman. The position of Vice-Chairman is to be reserved for the Minister who may be elected to that office. The Secretary is to be a member of the Ceylon Civil Service. This Board is to "last the lifetime of the Council which would be four years," though the elected element would change from time to time, as individual Ministers incurred the displeasure of the Council and had to retire.

To this Board is assigned the function of settling "the order of business for the Council, both in Executive and in Legislative Session; and" the determining of "the procedure by which matters which concerned more than one Standing Committee could most be conveniently arranged." The Commissioners speak of these functions as "routine matters," though the settling of the order of executive and legislative business is considered in their own country to have an important bearing upon both administration and legislation.

The concurrence of this Board must be obtained by the Officers of State and Ministers before they, or any one of them, can initiate a money-bill or any proposal creating, in any manner, "a charge upon the public revenue." No other Member of the legislature than these Decemviri is to have such a right. I apprehend that this proposal is meant to stop the existing practice which has enabled unofficials to get a number of Bills involving considerable expenditure passed by the present Council.

The Board is to be the complete arbiter of the annual Budget and estimates as also supplementary estimates as they are introduced into the State Council. The responsibility is to be "collective."

The term within inverted commas has certainly been used loosely. How can there be any collective responsibility in a body which is presided over by an "irresponsible" permanent official and has two other equally or "irresponsible" permanent officials as members, all three superimposed upon the State Council, which cannot touch a penny of their pay, much less remove them from office? In this circumstance "collective responsibility" can only mean that the rejection of the Budget would make the Councils' axe fall upon the necks of the elected Minister, as the Commissioners themselves say on another page.

The Budget will be unitary in name, but dyarchical in character. The salaries, allowances of various descriptions, pensions and gratuities of Public Servants constitute by far the heaviest item of expenditure. That item, as I have shown, will, if the Donoughmore recommendations are adopted, be open merely to "comment and criticism" of the State Council, but in reality will be unvoteable. Much the same can be said of the estimates relating to External Affairs and Military, Naval and Aerial Defence; and possibly of the other services such as finance, audit and justice, reserved for administration by permanent officials instead of by elected Ministers.

Apart from the very wide powers that the Governor will have, as will be pointed out later, he is specifically made competent to meet the situation that might arise through obstreperousness on the part of a Minister or his Executive Council. "Should any Executive Committee," propose the Commissioners, "omit to present its estimates within a reasonable time the Treasurer should report the omission to the Governor, who would be empowered to make up, with such assistance as he might require from the Board of Ministers and the heads of the departments concerned, what would be known as 'certified Estimate.'"

### VIII

The Donoughmore Commission propose to confer formidable powers upon the Governor. He will be supreme in legislative matters; will hold the whip-hand over the State Council in both its legislative and executive capacities; and will constitute in certain circumstances, a second chamber comprised solely of himself, whose fiat will have the force of law, completely overriding, if in his estimation need be, the will of the Council.

The Donoughmore Commission recommend that the Governor shall remain the Commander-in-Chief. They propose that he be given the "power to declare," at his own initiative, "a state of emergency and after such declaration to take over the control of the police and of any other department or service which he may consider it in the public interest to direct." He is to be, in fact, given complete initiative to "take executive action, in default of the co-operation of the Council, in matters of paramount importance to the public interest." What these



"matters of paramount importance" are have been left undefined—if, indeed, a definition is possible—and the Governor will have an exceedingly wide latitude in consequence.

As already stated, the Commissioners propose that the Governor be "given the power to appoint the Chairman of Executive Committees"—i.e., the Ministers. He is also to be given the right of making appointments to the public Service, to be exercised, if I have read the recommendations aright, through the Chief Secretary—a permanent official enjoying the Status of Minister (in fact, Prime Minister) without owing any responsibility to the Legislature. The "prerogative of mercy" is "to be vested in him alone."

The Governor is to be furnished with "copies of all agenda and minutes of every Executive Committee and of the Board of Ministers." He is also to be given "copies of all documents supplied to the (State) Council, including the Orders of the Day and the official record of the proceedings."

The Commissioners declare that the desire to enable the Governor to keep in touch with what is going on actuates them in making these recommendations. I note, however, that they propose that the Executive is not to "be competent—to take action on any items approved by the" State Council, either in its legislative or executive capacity "until the Governor's ratification has been received." They go so far as to ask that "he should have power to approve, refuse approval, reserve approval pending submission to the Secretary of State (for the Colonies), refer back to the Council for further consideration, or certify any particular item" of executive action "as involving an important question of principle and so requiring the support of two-thirds of the members of the Council."

The submission of papers concerning executive as also legislative matters to the Governor is therefore, not meant merely to enable him to pass away time or to take a purely academic interest in the proceedings. He is, indeed, to make it possible to delay action, have it modified or entirely stopped and, if the Council takes offence and refuses co-operation, he, as aforementioned, will have power to act quite independently of it.

In legislative matters, too, the powers of the Governor are to be increased, if the Donoughmore Commission's recommendations

are to be adopted. He will not only be competent to reserve assent to a Bill passed by the legislature "pending signification of His Majesty's pleasure," but will be able to: Refer it

"back to the Council for further consideration with or without suggested amendments."

"Certify a Bill coming within the Article of the Order in Council which demands its passage by a two-thirds' majority,"

"attach to his assent a condition withholding the ordinance from operation for a period not exceeding six months," or

"refuse assent."

The Governor is to be able to exercise all these powers "at his unfettered discretion" subject to being overruled from Whitehall.

Just as in respect of executive matters the Governor is to be given full scope for action independent of the legislative and executive machinery of every description, so in legislative matters he is to be able to act for himself. In case he "is of opinion that the passing of any Bill or any clause of it, or of any amendment to any such Bill, or of any resolution, or vote, is of paramount importance," he is to have the absolute "power to enact legislation" at his own discretion, and no "voting on" such a measure or measures shall "be required."

The Donoughmore Commission nevertheless wishes the world to believe that they are assigning to the Governor functions merely of a "negative rather than positive, supervisory rather than executive" character. The worst of granting such formidable powers is that they have a tendency to overawe the Executive and the Legislature and to make them subservient.

## IX

The Donoughmore Commission recommend the abridgement of the powers of the Legislature in respects other than those already named. It is, for instance, to be incompetent to legislate on the following matters, except with the prior consent of the Governor or at his request:

"Any Bill whereby the rights or privileges of public servants may be prejudiced."

"Any Bill whereby the financial stability of the Island may be prejudiced."

"Any Bill relating to questions of defence or public security, or any matter affecting naval, military or air forces or volunteer corps or the control of aerial navigation or aircraft."

"Any Bill relating to or affecting trade outside the Island or docks, harbours, shipping, or any



lands, buildings, or other matters of naval, military or aerial interest or of Imperial concern.  
 "Any Bill relating to or affecting the administration of justice in the Island."

If these recommendations are adopted, the field of legislation will be very much restricted; and the legislature will really lie in the hollow of the Governor's (and Treasurer's) hands.

It is to be remembered that the Colonial Office is to retain the right of disallowing "any law assented to by the Governor." There is to be the Whitehall veto over the Queen's House (the Governor's residence in Colombo) veto.

It is to be further noted that the British Parliament will continue to have concurrent as well as over-riding authority.

## X

The report is so smoothly worded that few Ceylonese have had the intelligence to grasp its implications. With two or three exceptions, even those few have not stated their views with force, much less urged upon their countrymen to beware of it.

Many among the Ceylonese, on the contrary, have been unable to resist the flattery that the Commissioners have bestowed upon them. That is particularly true of the younger inexperienced politicians.

In matters other than that of flattering Ceylonese vanity the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues have shown a wonderful grasp. They have, for instance, attached a salary of Rs. 27,000 per annum to each Ministry. For a people who have been given

only three Executive Councillorships of the second class—i. e., the right to sit in the Executive Council without any Departmental responsibility or executive functions—they have designed a system which would enable seventy-seven legislators to feel that they are Executive Councillors. By doubling the strength of the legislature they have enlisted the support of many aspirants. Their recommendation in favour of the extension of the franchise to all adult males and women over thirty, with certain residential qualifications, have won them support from both sexes, on a far greater scale.

The Ceylon National Congress has not been ignored. The proposal to get rid of the electoral machinery for filling seats reserved to certain minority communities has been advertised as the abolition of "communal representation," and the Congressmen have accepted that profession at its face value.

For these and other reasons of a similar nature the report has been swallowed. It is true that certain Ceylonese political associations have accepted it subject to specific reservations: but the British are canny and have no doubt taken a correct measure of the Ceylonese at whose instance those "reservations" were made. It may, therefore, be taken for granted that if any modifications are made they will certainly not be in the direction of liberalizing the report, but to make it even more acceptable to the British official, financial, industrial and planting interests in Ceylon and their supporters and principals in Britain.

## THE GARDEN CREEPER

BY SAMYUKTA DEVI

(5)

IN childhood, we are great friends with nature and mother earth. We respond easily to every call of theirs. Joy and sorrow flash across our lives, like lightning, leaving no trace behind. As we grow older, we become strangers to our old friends. But joy and sorrow would no longer come and go, and leave no trace behind. They leave

glorious pictures or deep scars, which we carry to our last days.

So Mukti soon became accustomed to her banishment. She made friends with the small people round her, and accepted this boarding house as her home. This became her world, and Aparna, Krishnadasi, Sushie-didi and Bimala peopled it. Her father and grand-mother could seldom enter into it. Even the Oriya gardener, her slave of past



days could not appear there, with his basket of red flowers. Now Krishnadasi had become the object of her envy, in the place of Bela. Krishnadasi did not possess beautiful red ribbons and smart frocks, like Bella, but what a wonderful voice she had! Miss Nag used to laud her up to the skies. "Mukti can sing too," she would say, "but she is no match for Krishnadasi." Mukti wished Krishnadasi would leave the school. Then Mukti would be sure to get the prize for singing. But that girl was much fairer than Mukti. Did not Sushie-didi say so only the other day? It was very hard for Mukti. She could not bear Sushie to praise anyone besides herself. She wished she could keep Sushie to herself. When the bell rang for tiffin, the big college girls would take Sushie-didi by the hand, and walk about with her and laugh. They would whisper in her ear, and Sushie's beautiful face would become quite pink. She would laugh and slap those girls. But those girls would not get angry and go away. They stayed and talked on. Sushie-didi looked very beautiful and happy, at these times. Mukti liked to gaze at her face then. But when Mukti talked to her, she did not become pink, neither did she laugh like that. So Mukti hated those big college girls. Sushie-didi would never cast a glance at Mukti, when she met those girls. One day she rushed in amongst them, and clasped one of Sushie-didi's hands and tried to say something. But those big girls began to laugh, as if Mukti had no rights to Sushie. From that day, Mukti did not go near them. But even when these creatures had left, in those big buses, Mukti could not feel easy. Sushie-didi would then begin to praise Krishnadasi's beauty. Had not Mukti a right to feel angry then? She was so mad with Sushie, that she did not go near her the whole evening. Molina had praised Mukti's hair, so she stayed with her.

Just as in her old home, grandma teased her to drink her milk and brush her hair, so did Molina here. As the last bell rang at school, Molina would take away Mukti, wash her face, and brush and tie up her hair in a pigtail. Mukti did not like this. Still Molina was better than grand-mother. She did not tie up her hair in a tight knot as grandma did, she did it nicely and put in a big bow of ribbon.

One thing was very strange here. There were no fathers or mothers here, only

Mashimas (aunts) and Didis (elder sisters). Even the very big girls did not put vermilion marks on their foreheads, veil their faces or sit quiet with grave faces. They laughed, read from picture books and enjoyed lozenges and toffees. But when Mukti lived at home, she had visited many houses and found all the big girls busy cutting up vegetables or rebuking little children. They talked very gravely. None of them had picture books, they possessed large bunches of keys, big boxes and babies.

But Mukti now knew the reason why. Those were homes, and this was a boarding house. The Didis (elder sisters) lived in boarding houses and read books. Mukti was a fool when she came here, so she got puzzled. But now she understood all. When she grew big, she too would read in the college from big red books. She would not have to stand up and say her lessons to Miss Nag then. Men teachers, with English dresses on, would teach her, and she would have only to listen and write a bit now and then in her notebooks. She would get many hours off, every day. But she would not read at night as Sushie and Molina did now, sitting round a huge round table. Mukti would skip over a big rope to her heart's content, bathe as long as she liked and eat plenty of sour pickles, behind the back of Miss Nag.

Mukti's days passed on thus, day dreaming. She would seldom remember her father or her grandmother during the school hours. But when the last bell had gone, and the big buses rolled out of the stables and came and stood in front of the stairs, and Bimala, Aparna and the other little girls rushed to get into them with their books and slates, then Mukti would begin to get home-sick. She wanted to get into one of those buses and drive home to her grandmother. But these big carriages never went the way to her home. Besides Sushie-didi had told her that little girls from the boarding house could not go home every day. If they went they got terrible punishment. Still Mukti would have gone, if the coachman Pitambar had taken her. But the man always refused, saying, "No, little Miss, I cannot drive all that way. My horses would get dead tired. Then who would pull this heavy bus tomorrow? The Big Mem Sahib will scold me very much."

Mukti could have torn her hair and howled with rage, at those times. If Molina happened to come for her then, she wanted



to beat her. But this was a boarding house! So the poor little girl had to swallow her anger, as well as she could. She had to follow Molina, descend those ugly iron stairs and enter the dressing room. But if anyone mentioned her home then, she could restrain her tears no longer. Out they would come in a flood. Then Sushie would rush to her, take her up in her arms, kiss her, and make her laugh some how. Mukti would forget all her sorrows at the touch of Sushie's beautiful face on her own.

At night, the Christian maid-servant, who dressed in chemise and saree like a gentlewoman, would ring the bell loudly. Then she would bring up bowls of milk on a tray into the bed-room, where the girls slept on iron bedsteads. Mukti would sit up on the bed, with her small legs dangling in the air and remember her grandmother and their huge bedstead with regret. Her grand-mother would carry her in her arms from the kitchen where Mukti used to have her supper, and put her to bed. Then after finishing all her duties, she would come and sleep by Mukti's side, clasping her lovingly in her arms. Sometimes her father would come home early, and sit down to have his supper by Mukti's side. Mukti would lean against him and thus fall asleep. But if she fell asleep here, at the supper table, the other girls laughed and poked her. She had to walk up to the bedroom and sleep alone on the iron bedstead. If Miss Dutt had not been so angry at two girls sleeping on the same bed, Mukti would have taken her little pillow and gone to sleep with Sushie every night. She had done so once, but Miss Dutt came and scolded Sushie-didi in a loud voice and with very angry red eyes. She felt terribly nervous while sleeping alone, she wanted to cry. She would wake up in the middle of the night and tremble with fear, to find all sleeping and the street lamp shining through the windows and casting fearful shadows on the walls. She felt terribly frightened to remain awake alone, but that very fear kept her awake, even if she covered herself up completely and put her head under her pillow. Her fear reached its climax, if the wicked men of the street shouted, "Bala Hari, Hari bol!"\* in their harsh voices. Little Mukti would grow cold with fear, her tongue would cleave to the roof of her mouth and she

would feel paralysed. One night, she rolled down from the bed, somehow. She must have fallen asleep then, because she seemed to wake up after a while, and found Sushie, Molina, and the other big girls putting water on her hair, and fanning her. Then for a few days, she slept in the house-keeper's room, but in a separate bed. But now she had come back to the big bedroom. She had not fallen down from the bed again. If the people in the street shouted, the other girls screamed and clasped one another in fear, but Mukti did not move. She would lie, stiff and cold with fear in her own bed.

Then the morning bell would ring very loudly, and Mukti would open her eyes to find the other girls leaving their beds, with tousled hair and sleepy faces. They would thrust their feet inside embroidered Japanese slippers or Burmese sandals and go out to wash their faces. Mukti would be astonished to find Sushie and a few other big girls walking about on the big verandah, even so early. She never could know when they got up. She would feel ashamed of sleeping late, and would sit up hastily on her bed. Then Molina would come and kiss her on her sleep-laden eyes, and take her away to wash her face. If she would sleep really late, Molina would come and gently rouse her up, passing wet fingers over her eyes. "Get up Mukti," she would whisper in her ear, "or Miss Dutt will scold you."

One day she would not get up at Molina's words. Miss Dutt really came then and shook her so roughly that even her bones began to ache. She remembered with regret the privileges of living in one's own home. There she used to sleep, all she desired and nobody shook her. Only grandma had sprinkled water on her eyes once or twice. Miss Dutt was not satisfied with shaking her, but she scolded Molina too, "Don't spoil the child like this," she said, "I did not put her under your charge for that." Then she said something in English, which Mukti could not understand. Molina's face became red, and she took away Mukti at once to the bath room.

But during the daytime Mukti was too busy learning her lessons, playing, singing or talking to her friends to remember her grievances. She would remember her grandma in times of sorrow, but would forget her with the passing off of her melancholy. But on a certain day during the

\* The chant of Bengalis, while carrying a dead body.



week, she could think of nothing else except the garden and the house at Bhowanipore. On Friday, as soon as she got up, she would run down to the dressing room. She would take out a large towel from the big wardrobe and would take this with a big safety-pin to Molina. "Please Molina-di," she would begin coaxingly, "pack up my clothes. I shall go home today."

Molina would laugh and push her away, saying, "Go away madcap, are you starting this very minute? Wait till the evening and I shall make everything ready for you."

But Mukti stuck to her, till she had to give way. She would make a bundle with some of Mukti's clothes and fasten it up inside the towel, with the safety-pin and give it to her, saying, "Now run away with your bundle." Mukti would go about the whole day, with the bundle clasped in her arms. She would rehearse to herself all the stories, she would tell father and grandma, again and again. She would carry the bundle with her books to the class. Miss Nag scolded her for this, but Mukti never reformed. She did not like to go back to the hostel for it, before running to the bus which would carry her home.

( 6 )

Mokshada Devi found it very hard to pass her days, now that Mukti had gone off to the boarding house. The large house seemed like a desert. There was no sign of man or child anywhere. How could a woman live in such a place? She had begun to pester her son anew to take unto himself a second wife. The wee bit of a girl had made the place homelike, but she too had been sent away to the school, for becoming a Memsahib. The house seemed like a haunted one now, so silent and deserted it had become. A mother could not tolerate such a state of affairs. Her son was young, why should not he marry again? He had no son, to inherit the estate or to carry on the family name. He ought to consider these points and to marry again.

But her son would not listen to her. So Mokshada had to fall back upon her old threat of going away to the country-house. She managed to while away the time making jams, fruit preserves and pickles for her grand-daughter. Mukti was very fond of these things. Shiveswar hated these things like poison. But though he spent a fortune

in biscuit, chocolates and lozenges, Mukti would cast greedy eyes at her grandmother's store of unwholesome delicacies. Though she was of her father's opinion, in all matters relating to dress, she sided with the old lady, when eating was concerned.

Her grandmother was busy the whole week, preparing for her home-coming in the week end. She looked forward to these two days with the eagerness of a young woman expecting her beloved. Mukti liked to put on sarees, like grown up girls, with a train trailing behind. So Mokshada Debi would call cloth vendors and buy all kinds of coloured sarees for Mukti. The barber's wife would receive strict orders from the old lady, to come punctually on Saturday, in order to paint Mukti's small feet with lac. She was under the impression, that Mukti did not get food enough at the hostel. So she would make fresh butter for her and keep it safe.

For five days these preparations went on. On the sixth day, Mukti was given a right royal reception.

Shiveswar, too, found time hanging heavy on his hands. There was nobody now to run out to welcome him home, when he returned tired with the days' work. Nobody insisted on eating from the same plate, or drove him mad to take her out for a drive. All her toys, her tricycle, her swing were thrust in a corner and presented a forlorn sight to the eye. They too seemed to await her magic touch to wake into joyous life. Nobody ran to put *pan* in his mouth now after he had finished dinner.

He had wished to bring up his little daughter himself and to train her in the way he thought best. But fate intervened, and he had to send her away to school. She only came to him for the week end, so there was no time to teach her, the two days being completely taken up by petting and spoiling. But the time hung heavy on his hands. His mother was the only other person in the house besides himself, but it was rather difficult to talk to her. She had only one topic of conversation, viz., a second marriage for Shiveswar. "I plead and plead," she would wail, "but you never listen to me. Won't you bring home a bride?"

But Shiveswar was adamant on this point. And Mukti was at school and likely to remain there for a good many years. So, he must think of some other way for passing his time.



He began to think over various schemes, when one day his mother said: "Do you know, Bishu had arranged a match for his daughter, with that boy of Bishnu's, I told you about. The girl is only a year older than our Mukti. You became quite wild, when I told you to secure him for your daughter. What do you think of it now? You will have to give your daughter in marriage, sooner or later, now, would not you?"

Shiveswar was probably thinking of something else, so he replied absent-mindedly. "Yes, yes, I shall settle about it soon."

His mother could hardly believe her ears. "With whom?" She asked eagerly.

"Oh, I shall tell you, when I have made up my mind," he replied.

Mokshada had to be content with this, and went off to the kitchen.

Shiveswar entered his office-room and called his bearer. The man answered and entered, with great alacrity.

"Did not you ask leave, for going home?" Shiveswar asked. "Well, you may go."

The servant was astounded. He had never expected such generosity. He had mentioned the matter, about a month ago, but Shiveswar had not deigned to answer then.

He replied with folded hands, "Yes sir, I shall go soon. I may even go to-morrow."

"All right," Shiveswar answered. Then as the man was about to go out, "What caste are the people of your village?" he asked.

"There are many castes, Sir," the bearer replied. "Most of them are untouchables like ourselves, There are two or three good castes also."

Shiveswar remained deep in thought, with a deep frown puckering his forehead.

After a while, he spoke again. "When you come back," he said, "bring an orphan boy from your village. I suppose there are many? Choose some one who knows how to read and write."

"So the master is thinking of adopting a boy," thought the bearer. "All right, Sir," he said and went away.

A few days passed off. Then as one fine morning Mokshada Devi was ordering the gardener to pick some green mangoes for her which she wanted for a favourite dish of Mukti's and the gardener was trying to excuse himself, the maid-servant, Nitya, came running up to her mistress. "Please Ma, come and look," she shouted, "a fine looking boy is coming with master's bearer."

The old lady was busy preparing for the weekly reception of Mukti; so she replied hotly, "Let him come. Do you want a band playing for him? He does not need to be received like a son-in-law." The maid went away rather embarrassed. After a few minutes, the bearer appeared, accompanied by a small boy of fresh complexion and fine features. He looked countrified and shy in his manners. Mokshada barely cast him a look. She had no time to waste on servants' relatives just at present, as she was expecting Mukti every minute and had not yet prepared a green cocoanut for her.

Mukti rushed in, within a few minutes. As she passed by her father's office room like a small hurricane, she saw a boy, slightly older than herself, sitting inside, to whom her father was talking. The boy wore ugly clothes and strange amulets.

Mukti was surprised, but she did not stop. "Grandma, I have come," she shouted and ran inside

(7)

Gopal was a child from the bearer's native village. He lost both his parents when quite young and was taken away by a kind-hearted gentleman, who used to know his father. But his wife Mohini took an instant dislike to the boy. He seemed quite out of place in her well-arranged home. She was living very happily, with her two small children and her husband, when that great fool went and wasted a lot of money over some dying friend. Not content with that, he brought over to his home this snivelling wretch of a boy. Though her own husband was entirely responsible for this arrangement, Mohini made the unfortunate boy the scapegoat, and vented her anger on his devoted head, to her entire satisfaction.

Gopal felt himself an utter stranger in this household. He was not accepted as one of the family, neither was he treated as a guest. He became a parasite without root in any soil. His heart remained starved. Mohini kept her own children scrupulously apart from him and never came down from her heights herself to the level of the poor boy. The master of the house had probably forgotten all about the poor boy, for he never took any notice of him. Besides that he was seldom at home, business keeping him in Calcutta for the greater part of the year.

The house of widowed Kamini was the



only spot on earth where this homeless creature felt at home. She was also the only person who talked kindly to him. But her house was not easily accessible, because Mohini did not like Kamini. Kamini sold fried rice going from door to door, for her livelihood; so she could never be treated as an equal by her. And so no inmate of her house, though he be nothing but a recipient of charity, could get so familiar with her. The family prestige had to be maintained.

So four or five years passed off. There was no change in Gopal's condition. His only solace was Kamini's love, his only occupation was reading. Mohini had grown no kinder. Gopal always stood much better in the class than her own son Subodh. This had not served to endear Gopal to her.

Suddenly the face of the world changed for him. Bepin Babu died of a few days' illness. Mohini's relatives appeared in a horde, and within a few hours, everything became ready for starting. Nothing was settled about Gopal, because they were in a hurry, the only decision being that he was not to be taken with them. Mohini told him that she would arrange about him within a few days and so left, leaving him for a few days in Kamini's house.

But though weeks passed, there was no sign from Mohini. Kamini's love was superior to the power of her purse, so she had no other option than to apply to Mohini by post. She got a reply, soon enough, but it was far from satisfactory. Mohini's brother had replied for her. He was in no way responsible, he said, for all the stupidities of his dead brother-in-law. It was enough that he was supporting his sister and her children. But he had no desire to open an orphanage at his house.

So, as Kamini could not drive away the poor orphan, she had to accept service as a cook in a neighbour's house, in order to maintain him. But she could not pay his school fees, so the boy had to give up his studies. The last day he went, the headmaster told him that his name had been removed from the school roll, on account of non-payment of fees. So the boy came back with tears in his eyes, carrying his torn books and broken slate. "Why do you come back so soon?" asked Kamini.

Gopal threw himself in her arms sobbing. "They won't let me stay there," he said, "I have not paid my fees."

Kamini did not know how to comfort

him. She wiped her own eyes and went away to her work.

In the afternoon she had a bit of leisure. She did her own cooking at that time, before starting for her employer's. As she was about to take down the pot of boiling rice from the oven, somebody at the front door, shouted, "Is my little mother in?"

"Oh dear, it is uncle," cried Kamini, running to the door. Gopal stared with wide open eyes at the newcomer. Needless to say, it was Shiveswar's bearer, our former acquaintance. He had a name, viz, Krishna, which was of no service to him, in his master's house, because he hated anything connected with idolatry.

Krishna came up to the earthen verandah and sat down. "I have just arrived," he said. "It is a long while since I came home. My master is too strict, he would never give me leave. This time my luck was good, so I got leave for a few days. Who is this boy?"

Kamini related the whole history of Gopal. Krishna listened carefully and shook his head very wisely at the end. He said nothing however, but left, promising to come again.

He came the very next morning. "Look here, my little mother," he began as soon as he saw Kamini, "I want to have a few words with you. You are a poor widow, how could you bring up another's child? It is no easy job. So, what I say, is this. Give him to me and I shall take him to Calcutta, to my master's house. He is a very rich man, there are many living on his charity. If the boy goes there, he will be well-provided for. He has even asked me to be on the look out for just such a boy."

Kamini was surprised at this whim of a great man. "Indeed?" she asked, "has not he got children of his own?"

"Only a girl", Krishna said, "and even she has been sent away to a Mem Sahib's school. The large house seems like a desert now."

"Then take him away," said Kamini, her eyes filling with tears at the very thought of parting from Gopal. "He had become like my own son, and my heart will break to part from him. But I won't stand in his way. He will have to starve to death before my very eyes, if he stays on here." Gopal began to weep, when told of the arrangement. But he did not



object. He knew he had no rights, anywhere or over anybody. He had no right even to be angry or to cry. He knew sorrow to be his birthright, and joy always came as a most unexpected miracle.

So four or five days after, one foggy night, he started in a bullock cart, in company with Krishna, for his new home. The doors of the houses he passed were mostly closed, there was no other light,

save what the hurricane lantern, tied under their cart, cast on the road. The wheels of the cart creaked and the village curs yelped. There was no other sound.

Krishna sat and smoked his *hookah*. Gopal's head began to nod and, after a while, he fell asleep, putting his head on the bundle. Kamini had made for him. His cheeks still bore the stain of tears.

(To be continued)

## RESTRICTION OF THE ACREAGE OF JUTE—A STUDY OF THE CONGRESS POLICY\*

BY B. N. GANGULI, M. A.,

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RECENTLY the restriction of the acreage of jute was officially adopted as an item in the programme of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. It became a slogan for the time being and a campaign was started in the jute-growing areas to bring about a restriction in the supply of jute for the season 1928-29. In view of the importance of this question it is desirable to take stock of the present situation in the jute market from a strictly economic point of view in order to clear up the issues and to present the problem in its proper perspective.

Some of the fundamental facts of the situation will be clear to us if we examine the statements made by the two successive presidents of the Jute Mills Association about the position of the jute industry in 1925 and 1926. Reviewing the position of the jute mills in 1925 the President remarked that the high price of jute manufactures was due to the scarcity of the raw material; jute yield, it was pointed out, has remained stationary at about 80 lacs of bales whereas the number of looms has gone up from 21,000 in 1905 to 50,000 in 1925. Even on the basis of current consumption by Indian mills the average outturn required would be 100 lacs of bales which represent the maximum consuming capacity of the world in 1913. Even then we neglect the extension of plant in other centres and we also suppose that the present consumption of 50,000 looms in 4 days is equal to that of 37,000 looms in 6 days in 1913. From these facts it was inferred that the lowest deficit would be something like 20 lacs of bales so that it was easy to see that the high prices in 1925 were due to the shortage in the supply of raw jute. The President then went on to say that the short supply was due to the

nervousness of the cultivators about the state of the market. But they should mark that there is a deficit of something like 20 lacs of bales so that there is no chance of slackening of demand and low prices.

Reviewing the position in 1926 the next president of the Association Mr. Sime of Andrew Yule and Co., had an altogether different story to narrate. He summed up the situation by saying that in 1926 in accordance with the short time agreement, 54 lacs of bales were consumed by the mills to produce 144 crores of yds. of Hessian and 50 crores of sacking bags. If they were to work 81 hours, the maximum permitted by the Factory Act, they would produce 216 crores of yds. of Hessian and 77 crores of sacking bags and to produce this 81 lacs of bales will be required. This will mean an increase of about 50 p. c. in the production of manufactured goods and the amount of jute required and it will have an effect of swamping the market. The situation seems to have been transformed in the course of a single year. We find that the mills were working 54 hours a week under the shorttime agreement in order to restrict their output. There is no complaint about the scarcity of raw material this time. We can well imagine that the President of the Association for the previous year felt very uncomfortable in the face of the stubborn facts stated by Mr. Sime. What a pity! His prophecy was falsified so soon!

The plain economic fact is, that in 1925-26 when the average price of jute was Rs. 18-11 per md. and the jute yield was 91.11 lacs of bales there was naturally a feeling that the high prices of manufactured goods were due to scarcity of the raw material. But in 1926-27 there was a sharp fall in the prices of jute, Hessian and sacking. The total imports of jute into Calcutta were 121½ lacs of bales; the stock in local mills on the 1st of July, 1927 was about

\* A paper read before the Dacca University Economic Association.



37 lacs of bales. This large carry-over was due to the fact that the local mills as well as the foreign spinners took advantage of the sharp fall of prices and purchased more than their requirements. Under the circumstances there can be no question of a scarcity of raw material and it is easy to see that a supply of 81 lacs of bales which was considered too short in 1925 should be considered sufficient to swamp the markets of the world in 1926.

Certain important facts emerge from this brief analysis of facts. Firstly, it is well to bear in mind that there is a combination of jute manufacturers which seeks to make its influence felt on the market for manufactures as well as on the market for raw material. This prevents cut-throat competition and increases the strength and efficiency of the mills by eliminating, to a certain extent, the wastes of competition. That the advantages of such a combination are real is evidenced by the threat which Mr. Sime, the President of the Association, held out in course of his presidential address to those who are thinking of starting new mills in the face of the glut in the jute market. Mr. Sime said, "From the day any of these projected new mills start on the Hooghly the present agreement (to work short-time) will cease to operate."

Secondly, it must be clear that the world-demand for manufactured jute is an uncertain factor which must be taken seriously into account when we consider the price of raw jute and its supply. There can be no sacrosanct figure such as the pre-war average of 100 lacs of bales which will represent the world-demand for jute. The fact that a supply of 81 lacs of bales was considered as insufficient in 1925 and the fact that the same supply was considered sufficient to swamp the markets of the world in 1926 can be reconciled with each other only if we admit that the world-demand for jute products as reflected in the prices of Hessians and sacking is an element which has its influence upon the demand for raw jute and hence upon its supply. A further illustration of this simple economic truth is to be found in the fact that the price of raw jute has been higher in a year of increased production. The production in 1922 was 54 lakhs of bales as against 39 lakhs in 1921. Yet the prices of First Marks in the season 1922-23 were roughly Rs. 15 higher than in 1921-22. In 1924-25 the total supply (including carry-over from the previous season) was 9,328,366 bales and the average price of First Marks in Dundee was £42-0-0d. In 1925-26 the total supply was 9,560,419 bales; but in spite of an increase the average price was £53-1s-9d. A similar illustration can be cited from the cotton trade. The production of Indian cotton dropped from 57 lakhs bales in 1919-20 to 36 lakhs in 1920-21 and the index number of total world production fell from 80 to 77. Yet the price of Omara in the Liverpool Exchange sagged from 18d. to 8d. Moreover, the increasing consumption of jute for other than mere sacking purposes in recent times shows that the demand for jute has acquired a wider outlet and has become somewhat elastic. Before the war 10 p. c. of the Hessian imported into U. S. A. was devoted to purposes other than making bags; but at the present time the percentage has gone up to 30 or 35. Considering the fact that the two American

continents together took 87 p. c. of the Hessian exported from Calcutta in 1926 this recent change in the character of jute consumption must be taken seriously and it cannot be denied that an artificial restriction of supply will react upon the consumption of jute for other than sacking purposes without securing to us the full benefits of restriction.

So far as the supply of raw jute is concerned it is important to remember that the price is dependent not only upon the actual imports of jute into Calcutta but also upon the carry-overs from the previous season in the shape of stocks in the mills and in the hands of speculative dealers. The yield of jute is liable to fluctuations of rainfall; moreover official estimates of yield are highly inaccurate and misleading. In 1921-22 the actual crop exceeded the fore-cast by 38.57 lacs of bales, in 1922-23 by 9.03 lacs of bales, in 1923-24 by 9.14 lacs of bales and in 1924-25 by 9.91 lacs of bales. Hence it is that the supply of jute is highly amenable to speculative dealings so far as the carrying of stocks is concerned. It has been estimated that at the end of the season 1927-28 the market will be burdened with a carry-over of about 50 lacs of bales which is bound to have a depressing effect upon the price of jute, and it is but proper that there should be some restriction in the output of jute to prevent a further fall of prices. But at the same time it is well to take note of the fact that speculative dealings have a predominant influence upon the price of jute. The low price of jute in 1926 was due more to speculative dealings than anything else. Early in 1927 it was reported that shippers and bazaar operators had absorbed futures up to the end of December and that they were bound to manipulate for an advance in order to liquidate their holdings: and it is not unlikely that the heavy stocks outstanding are the result of speculative dealings. Moreover it is a significant fact that many of the speculative dealings, especially in the Loose Jute market, are no better than gambling transactions. In a memorial submitted to the Secretary of State for India the London Jute Association characterised the Bhitari Bazar of Calcutta as a 'gambling arena' and a 'menace to legitimate trade'. There is no representative organisation to control the dealers; there is no system of written and stamped contracts, no legal right to offer and demand delivery, no minimum amount of jute below which no transactions shall be allowed. Only the other day 28 Marwaris and up-country men were arrested at the office of the North Bengal Jute Association in Cotton Street on a charge of gambling. This sort of illegitimate speculation brings about an uneven distribution of supply and is a highly disturbing factor in the market.

Bearing these obvious economic truths in mind let us try to understand the present situation. As pointed out just now, the organisation which the jute mills have set up seeks to make its influence felt upon the market for raw material as well as the market for manufactured jute. It is obvious that the mills stand to gain when the price of manufactured jute rises and that of raw jute declines and they lose when it is otherwise. The year 1926 was a year of falling prices all round. The price of raw jute declined by 50 p. c. from Rs. 26 in January to Rs. 12 in December.



But the price of Hessian too declined from Rs. 20-12 as. in January to Rs. 14-12as. in December and the price of sacking declined from Rs. 70 in January to Rs. 49 in December. This situation is reflected in the declining profits of the Jute Mills. The total profits of the mills were Rs. 2,78,35,646 during the second half of 1925 but during the first half of 1926 the profits were Rs. 1,51,62,549 and during the second half of 1926 the profits were only Rs. 87,39,212. Throughout the year 1927 the supply of jute continued to pour in and the market for raw jute showed a bearish tendency. Between July 1926 and December 1926 the highest price of white jute did not fall below Rs. 13-8as., and fluctuated mostly in the neighbourhood of Rs. 14-0as. But during 1927 the highest price was Rs. 10-4as., in January; Rs. 14-8as. in February; Rs. 13-2as. in March; Rs. 13-0as. in April; Rs. 12-12as. in May; and Rs. 11-12as. in June. But although the price of jute was at a low figure the prices of Hessians and sacking were not only not depressed as in 1926 but were at a distinctly higher level. Whereas the price of Hessians in 1926 declined from Rs. 20-12as in January to Rs. 14-12as. in December, in 1927 there was a rise from about Rs. 15 in January to about Rs. 25 in December. Obviously this had the effect of increasing the output and profits of the jute mills. Exports of jute cloth from Calcutta were 57,065,467 yds. more in 1927 than what they were in 1926; whereas the exports of Jute bags were 18,180,991 more in 1927 than what they were in 1926. The improvement in the position of Jute mills is clearly reflected in the rate of dividend offered. The Anglo-India Jute Mills Co. Ltd. declared the following rates of dividend at the successive periods which we are reviewing:—50 p. c. in September 1925; 30 p. c. in March 1926; 10 p. c. in Sept. 1926; 50 p. c. in March 1927; and 55 p. c. in March 1928. These facts give us an idea of the exact situation at the present moment. The market for raw jute is facing the bearish fact of a heavy carry-over and the middlemen apprehend that if the supply of jute in the season 1928-29 remains unrestricted the prices will be still further depressed; so that on the one hand they will be unable to liquidate their holdings and, on the other, this situation will react very favourably upon the output and profits of the jute mills. In view of this contingency it is but natural that the programme of jute restriction initiated by the B.P.C.C. should be so warmly supported by the speculative middlemen.

What are then the facts of the situation? There has arisen a very wide disparity between the price of raw jute and the price of Hessian and this disparity has been increasing further owing to the bearish fact of a very heavy carry-over and the consequent fall in the price of raw jute and owing to a simultaneous rise in the price of Hessian. It has been explained how these conditions are working to the advantage of the jute mills and how output as well as profits have shown a steady upward tendency. Now the impression is that the mills have a whip-hand over the situation because of the monopolistic control of output on the one hand and because of large stocks of jute in their warehouses

sufficient for nine months' consumption on the other.

The question of combination among the sellers of jute would therefore arise as a matter of course in the face of the present situation. Recently the jute dealers of Calcutta formed an association called the Bengal Jute Dealers' Association with an influential and representative Executive Committee and with Mr. H. P. Bagaria as the Hony. Secretary in order to protect their interests. As soon as the Association was formed there was a tussle between it and the Bengal Jute Mills Association over definite standards of loose jute, the absence of which has rendered jute business almost a gambling transaction. The Association resolved recently not to enter into seasonal contracts unless the Mills could agree upon a definite standard. In this connection it is interesting to note that a strong plea for the creation of a central organisation for the control of the jute trade in Bengal was recently put forward by Mr. B. Kanoria in his presidential address delivered at the first annual meeting of the East India Jute Association. The object of such an organisation would be, in the words of Mr. Kanoria, "To avert crisis and enable the trade to present a united front and make a united demand." (The Statesman, Dak Edition, 31-8-28.)

But the point is that a combination of middlemen only cannot reasonably be a solution of the real problem which has arrested our attention at the present moment. Evidently we must have a combination of jute-growers which will be able to control the output judiciously in much the same way as the mills are doing not only to tide over the present period of over-production but also to be able to face the jute mills combine in future.

Thus the campaign of jute restriction may be considered from two points of view. It might be regarded only as an opportunist move in so far as it is the outcome of the present situation in the jute market and in so far as its object is to relieve the temporary glut. But it might also be regarded as the beginning of a genuine attempt to keep production of raw jute permanently at a "pegged" level to counteract the monopolistic control of output and consumption of raw material enjoyed by the jute mills. In the second case it will not be merely a problem of restriction but essentially a problem of the judicious control of output by a representative organisation of jute-growers which would possess an expert knowledge of the complex conditions of the market. When we consider the problem of restriction we should carefully separate these two distinct points of view.

Moreover, it must be remembered that when we talk of a combination amongst the sellers of jute we should not complacently think that the interests of the jute-growers and the interests of the middlemen both of whom are sellers of jute are identical. It is well-known that owing to the interposition of middlemen the price of raw jute in Calcutta exceeds the price of the same jute in the villages by as much as 20 p. c. to 30 p. c. There is the financial grip of the middlemen over the jute-growers as a result of which they do not get a fair economic return in the sense that the prices at which they have to sell their crops do not bear a fair relation to the



prices in the world-market. Hence the interests of the middlemen and the interests of the jute-growers must always be clearly and unambiguously distinguished. We need to be reminded of those very plain issues because to all intents and purposes these issues have either been hopelessly confused or conveniently suppressed by those who have been advocating the policy of jute restriction in the nationalist press.

We will now examine the case presented by Mr. H. P. Bagaria, the Hony. Secretary of the Bengal Jute Dealers Association, in an article published in the *Forward* at the time when the jute restriction campaign was in full swing. Mr. Bagaria begins by saying that the policy of restriction is not an impracticable possibility. He gives examples of the British rubber restriction and the cotton restriction in U. S. A. Two years back the price of cotton came down as low as 12 cents a pound—a price which left little margin to the cultivators. The various cultivators' organisations in U. S. A. decided upon a 20 per cent reduction of acreage for the next year. The result was that prices rose as high as 26 cents per pound. He also points out how the acreage of cotton in Egypt is controlled by the Government according to changes in world-prices. It must be noted that Mr. Bagaria speaks of the cultivators' organisation in America; but he does not emphasise the point that in order that the farmers might get an economic return for their produce what is wanted is a judicious control of output by a representative co-operative organisation which will restrict or increase the output according to the necessities of the case. Restriction has not been impracticable in America because the farmers are organised in strong co-operative organisations. But it will be impracticable in the case of Bengal because there are no such organisations here. Restriction is a practical proposition when every one knows that every one else is restricting his acreage to a proportionate extent and that by combined action it will be possible to get higher prices. But this is possible only when there is a strong co-operative organisation which can inspire confidence in the minds of the individual farmers and has the proper sanction behind its policy of restriction. Moreover the existence of a co-operative marketing organisation on which, as explained just now, the success of restriction absolutely depends would also mean the elimination of middlemen. Can Mr. Bagaria who is the Hony. Secretary of a middlemen's organisation reflect upon this contingency with perfect equanimity? He ought to understand that the interest of the middlemen and the interests of the jute-growers are not identical.

Mr. Bagaria then advances certain theoretical arguments in favour of restriction.

"The primary aim of restriction," he says, "should be to enable the world to consume the already existing stocks rather than to force up prices."

Here the cat seems to be out of the bag. Mr. Bagaria conveniently pushes to the background the boarder issue viz., judicious control of output and confines himself to the temporary problem of restriction which has arisen, as we have already explained, out of the peculiar situation in the jute market at the present moment. The market is over-burdened with stocks, the price of Hessian

is high and the output and profits of the mills are at a steadily higher level. If the output is unrestricted the middlemen will be unable to liquidate their holdings and will incur heavy losses. But if they were to wait for the growth of a widespread co-operative organisation it will be waiting till the Greek Calends. So the best thing was to bring about a restriction of the acreage for the season 1928-29 with the help of Congress propaganda in order that the present glut in the market may be relieved and the middlemen may be able to liquidate their holdings at satisfactory prices.

If that is the problem, why play the game of hide and seek? Why assume that the farmers will necessarily gain from a policy of restriction? Why don't the members of the B. P. C. C. perceive that nothing will avail in the face of the financial grip of the middlemen? Why forget that the conflict of interests is not directly between the jute mills and the poor jute-growers but between the jute-growers and the middlemen? Why not face the facts squarely?

Mr. Bagaria then proceeds to point out that the policy of restriction carries with it the essential condition that the country practising it must be in a "Commanding position in respect of the commodity." Of course, this is one of the truisms of economic theory. But before considering the question as to how far we have a monopoly of jute we should do well to turn our attention to the point of view from which Mr. Bagaria, as a representative of middlemen, is surveying the problem.

As we have already shown, at the present moment the market is over-burdened with a heavy carry-over to the extent of 50 lacs of bales and we hope we may be excused for reiterating the fact that unfortunately the advocates of restriction have their eyes only on the narrow problem of the depletion of accumulated stocks.

Mr. Bagaria says—"There is a considerable surplus of jute and reduction of output is sure to improve the price of jute." Then he goes on to say that if the crop in the present season is 110 lacs of bales the price will be possibly Rs. 50 a bale; but if the output is restricted to 90 lacs the price will be at least Rs. 90 per bale so that by means of restricting the output by 20 lacs the price of the total crop will increase by Rs. 12½ crores. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, the Economist of the Swaraj Party in Bengal, also gave similar calculations of the benefits, which our poor cultivators will derive from a policy of jute restriction, in course of a speech delivered at a meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce. He was able to show that if 10 lacs of acres now sown with jute are released for rice the farmers would get Rs. 42½ crores for jute only instead of Rs. 40 crores which they are getting now and in addition they would get Rs. 7½ crores for rice which will substitute jute; so that by the policy of restriction the country will be richer by Rs. 10 crores. The arithmetic is quite convincing but the economics is extremely unconvincing.

Both Mr. Bagaria and Mr. Sarkar do not consider the question whether the growing of rice on jutelands would be an economic agricultural possibility or not. Moreover *how far* the restriction of acreage will go and what will be its reactions upon the price of Hessian and the world-demand for jute are questions which are



left beautifully vague. Mr. Bagaria seems to be aware of this very important consideration when he says "I do not mean to say that the price of jute should be forced up to unprecedented heights. In spite of the fact that jute is our monopoly that may not ultimately prove beneficial." But what does he mean when he says that indiscriminate restriction will not be ultimately beneficial? Does he mean to say that forcing up prices to unprecedented heights will be temporarily beneficial to our country? As a matter of fact, Mr. Bagaria as a businessman is thinking only of the present glut in the jute market. He does not explain what he means by discriminating restriction and how far and under what conditions it will be ultimately beneficial to our cultivators.

Let us now take up the vexed question as to how far we can utilise our monopolistic position in regard to jute in the matter of getting as high a price as possible. The case has been sought to be proved by means of statistical evidence. It has been pointed out that—"Three years back when the crop was damaged and it was expected that the total supplies will fall short of consumption by more than a million bales the price of jute went up by more than 100p.c. The very next year when the sowings were large and it seemed that the crop was to be a bumper one prices came down by as much as 40p.c." But it must always be remembered that statistics often cuts both ways. It is not difficult to show that prices have been higher in a year of increased production and lower in a year of restricted production. In 1924-25 the total supply of jute was 9,328,366 bales and the average price of First Marks in Dundee was £42. In 1925-26 the total supply was 9,560,419 bales; but in spite of an increase of output the average price was £53-1s-9d. In 1922 the output was 54 lacs of bales as against 39 lacs in 1921; yet the prices of First Marks in the season 1922-23 were roughly Rs. 15 higher than in 1922. How will Mr. Bagaria or Mr. Nalini Ranja Sarkar explain these recalcitrant facts? Are we not unreasonably making too much of our monopolistic position with regard to jute?

As we have already seen we cannot, in the heat of the controversy, afford to forget the simple economic question of demand and supply. There is no denying the fact that we possess a commanding position in respect of jute. But we should remember that the demand for jute is not so absolutely inelastic as the advocates of jute restriction would have us believe. In the earlier part of this paper we have analysed the facts of the situation to show that fluctuations of demand have their reactions upon the price of jute in much the same way as fluctuations in the supply of jute. The President of the Jute Mills Association pointed out in 1925 that a supply of 81 lacs of bales was insufficient and in the very next year the same supply was considered by the next President as abundant enough to swamp the markets of the world. Here the main deciding factor seems to be the fluctuations in the world demand for jute. Moreover, as already said the demand for jute has acquired a wider consuming outlet and has become considerably elastic because it is wanted in increasing quantities for other than sacking purposes. 87% of the Hessian exported from Calcutta goes to America. Formerly only 10% of it was devoted to other than sacking pur-

poses; but now 30% or 35% is devoted to these purposes. Now, if as a result of the policy of restriction the price is bolstered up to a very high level it is bound to react upon the American jute imports and farmers will not be able to reap the full benefits of restriction. We state these facts over again because they bear repetition in view of loose thinking which the arguments of the advocates of restriction clearly betray. Allied to the question of monopoly is the question of substitutes. Mr. Bagaria says "We have seen jute selling at Rs. 140 per bale—a price double the present ruling prices. No substitutes came then". He means to say that the question of substitutes is nothing but a skeleton in the cupboard or rather a red herring drawn across the trail. If so, why not practise indiscriminate restriction? Why does he say then that "In spite of the fact that jute is our monopoly forcing up prices to unprecedented heights will not be ultimately beneficial to us"? As a matter of fact, price of Rs. 140 per bale which Mr. Bagaria mentions was the price which ruled under the abnormal conditions of the war-period. There was a phenomenal demand for sandbags which must be had at any price; moreover, high prices were due to a rise in the general level of prices throughout the world. Those were glorious days for speculators and middlemen like Mr. Bagaria. But if he thinks that it is possible to live them over again then he is seriously mistaken.

Mr. Bagaria then goes on to say "So long as you can get in India a labourer to work at 6 annas a day in waist deep water under the most insanitary conditions there is no danger of any country becoming the rival of Bengal in the production of jute"

Good heavens! Is the labourer to work at 6 annas a day even after the policy of restriction has been adopted on an expensive scale? If restriction does not improve their lot, is it then going to enrich only the *Dadandars* and loose jute merchants? We had thought that it was otherwise.

We cannot leave this question of monopoly without referring to the curious evolution of economic opinion on this problem. When the question of imposing a jute export duty was being debated in the press people connected with the jute trade raised a tremendous outcry against it. The arguments against the jute export duty were based on the ground that we do not possess the so-called monopoly in jute to a large extent and that the demand for jute is not inelastic so that the duty will not be shifted on to purchasers of Hessian. This view was also strongly expressed by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar in course of an article published in the *Modern Review*. But it is puzzling to find that these gentlemen are advocating jute restriction at the present moment on the ground that we do possess a monopoly of jute and that the elasticity of demand need not seriously be taken into account.

The policy of restriction has been sought to be supported by another argument which seems very plausible. It is pointed out that we need not bother our heads about the question of monopoly or of possible substitutes for jute. These questions arise when we enquire whether and how far higher prices of jute under the regime



of restriction will bring about a reduced consumption of jute. But it is argued the present margin between the price of Hessian and the price of raw jute is substantial so that the jute mills are making tremendous profits; and if the price of raw jute is bolstered up it will not have any effect upon the output and price of Hessian. The mills will have smaller dividends that is all that we can expect. Now the present accumulation of stocks and the fall in the price of raw jute as well as rise in the price of Hessian have increased the profits of the jute mills. Under the circumstances some amount of restriction is desirable in the interest of those who are supplying the raw material.

But the point is, are the cultivators to benefit from the policy of restriction even if it does not result in a reduced consumption of jute? The average cost of production of jute is something like Rs. 7½ per maund and the average price realised by the cultivator during the last two years cannot be more than Rs. 8½ per maund. But is this poor margin going to increase as a result of restriction? Is it not a fact that so long as *Dadandars* and middlemen flourish like water-hyacinth the margin cannot be increased? Will not the policy of restriction merely enrich the middlemen?

Mr. Bagaria forgets that the interest of jute-growers and the interests of middlemen are not identical. What is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose. We find that he bursts into a righteous indignation against mill-owners and says—"The mill-owners may roll in wealth but the poor cultivator has no right to more than a loaf of bread (?) and a strip of cloth to cover his body." But Mr. Bagaria does not mention the link in the chain which connects the mill-owner and the cultivator. We all know what the link

is and against whom we should properly express our righteous indignation if at all.

Now the question will naturally arise—Why has the Congress thrown itself so suddenly into a whirlwind campaign of jute restriction. We all remember that one of the many unfulfilled projects of the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was to link up the jute-growers of Bengal into a vast sale and supply organisation in order to secure to the cultivator a proper economic return. Deshbandhu Das realised that it was a gigantic problem which can be solved through the efforts of the Congress. It might be remembered that he seriously thought of raising a large sum of money with which he could finance the project. As we have already said the wider problem is not one of restriction but of judicious control of output by means of co-operative organisation which will not only secure a fair return to the cultivator but will also rid the market of the pernicious influence of speculators. Deshbandhu Das had this wider problem in view when he thought of this project. But we do not know what the B.P.C. mean by taking a narrow view of the problem and rushing headlong into a spurious campaign of restriction. Moreover, don't they understand that a policy of restriction can never be successful without a strong representative organisation amongst the farmers and that if such an organisation ever grows up at all in Bengal the question of regulating the output will solve itself automatically? Then why did the Congress Committee commit itself to the policy of restriction? Moreover, have the members of the Congress Committee considered carefully whether the cultivators, in whose name the Congress really stands, are likely to benefit by the temporary policy of restriction or whether it is the middlemen who will be the real gainers?

## BIRESWAR SEN

*A Painter of graceful figures*

By L. M. SEN. A. R. C. A. (LONDON)

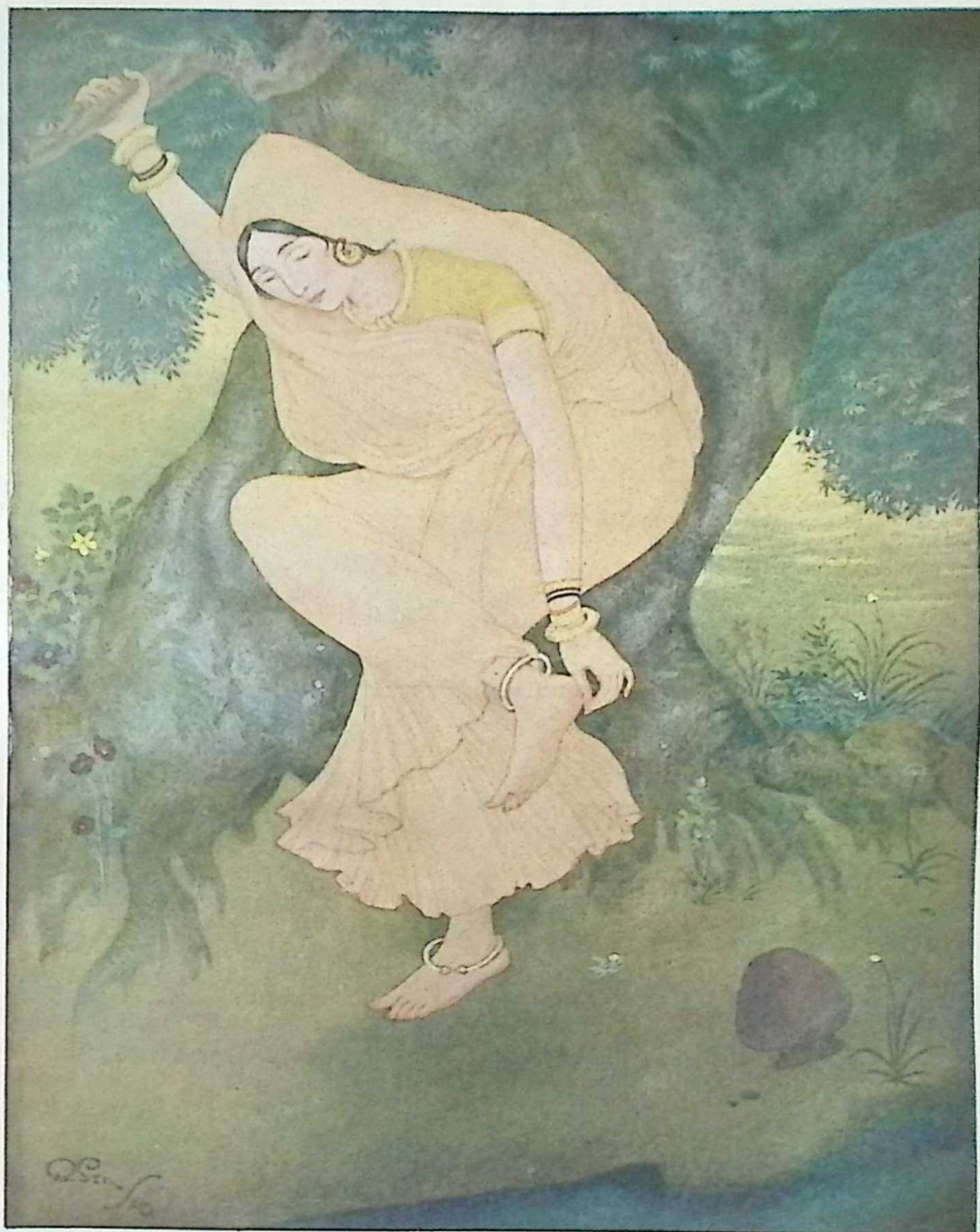
IT is an established fact that without the intimate knowledge of human anatomy and the delicate and accurate perception of form, one cannot be a painter of the figure. The knowledge of the body beautiful requires the study of a life-time, but alas! how many of us have shirked the patient and devious way which alone can lead to the mastery of the art of figure drawing!

The works of Bireswar Sen have already achieved a great reputation for their fine sense of composition, richly decorative quality and beautiful eastern colours, which he

studied so intimately from his master Abanindranath.

Before I had the occasion of studying Mr. Sen's work so intimately, I was under the impression that the New School of Artists are perhaps always doubtful of their drawings and forms, and were consequently afraid of putting bright and cheerful colours, so that the bad drawings may not be too patent. With Mr. Sen, however, we have to deal with an artist who has firmly established his reputation to be regarded as one of the most skilful and accomplished draughtsmen of the





## THORN

By Mr. Bireswar Sen

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.







New Bengal School. His highly finished and delightful water-colour drawings have been, for some years, among the chief attractions of the exhibitions of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. An artist like Mr. Sen seldom produces a gloomy picture with dirty colours as a cloak to hide a bad drawing; when he does so, it is because it offers him an opportunity to express his forms in a new and delightful way. It is always a pleasure to see Mr. Sen's paintings, so full of accurate details, carefully drawn and balanced, with fresh and beautiful colourings, —and one cannot but wonder at the long hours of careful and patient labour with which he produces his little water-colour pictures. The chief feature of his work is that every bit of the composition, whatever it might be, the sky, trees, figures or even the smallest minor details, is very clearly defined with the magic touch of his brush. They gleam like jewels and are very rarely wrapped up in a shadowy and depressing haze. This shows how alert he is to notice and record faithfully every natural detail.

Though Mr. Sen's works are unlike that of any other artist, they cannot be labelled as representing any of the 'Isms,' for none of the others' work has influenced him at all. His pictures are individual expressions of an intensely sensitive and thoroughly sincere artist, who goes on in his own way, yet pursuing what is best in all the different Schools native or foreign. He is a person who feels very deeply the beauty and joy of the world of life and who tries to express it beautifully. People always say that the works of this New School are not realistic at all; this is hardly a drawback, for, in Art there will always be idealists.

Mr. Sen was born in Calcutta in the year 1897 of a well-cultured and educated Bengalee family. He was sent to Hare School at the early age of seven, where throughout his boyhood he had aims to be a painter. I have heard him say that the reproductions of Greek sculptures contained in the "Legend of Greece and Rome", one of his text books, influenced him a good deal at this early period, an influence which, to my mind, has produced its life-long impression on his

sensitive nature. During his school days he used to draw and paint with feeble and weak drawings, the vague artistic forms naturally stored in him, with a distinctly Hellenic touch.

In one of these days, when he successfully passed one of his School examinations, his grand-father presented him a copy of Edmund Dulac's Picture Book which re-



Sj. Bireswar Sen  
Portrait by Mr. L. M. Sen

vealed to him a new world of glorious colours and form; and from this gifted Frenchman, as once he himself told me, he learnt to mix beautiful colours in that indefinable manner, which has at the present time been one of the most distinguished characteristics of his work. Although he has been influenced a little by Dulac's colours, he is seldom imitating the mannerism and tricks of technique of the French artist and usually takes the rhythmic impressions of nature and moulds it to his favourite decorative patterns,—a method which perhaps he has inherited from the older traditions of the Rajput and Moghul Master Painters.

During his College days, Mr. Sen luckily came in contact with Dr. Abanindranath Tagore. Abanindranath who chanced to notice some of the young artists' unaided work, saw at once the spark of genius latent in his work and encouraged him a good deal



by allowing him to work in his Studio under his personal guidance. Though untutored, the pencil drawings of Mr. Sen at this period bore a marked resemblance to the work of the late Aubrey Beardsley, and both Mr. Tagore and Mr. O. C. Gangoly directed that he should continue to work in the same style. This resemblance of Mr. Sen's work with that of the great English draughtsman is surprising, considering the fact that the artist had never come across Mr. Beardsley's work at this period. It was here, in his studio that young Bireswar began studying the art of



King Shibi and the Hawk  
From a Colossal tempera painting on cloth  
by Mr. Bireswar Sen

painting in the true sense of the term. He learnt all the secrets of the technique of water-colour, which is the favourite medium of the Indian artist, by seeing his Guru and others working; but his temperament was not

such as could be led away with the mere imitation of the work of any other artist. Coming in contact with Abanindranath was the foundation-stone of his future artistic development. It was here that he realized that there was something more to be achieved than merely imitating his predecessors and contemporaries. The *Ustad's* art is valuable because it is the product of individual effort translating an individual outlook, but the copyist of any great master is usually empty of aim and barren of achievement.

I have already hinted that Mr. Sen, unlike the other artists in our country, excepting a very few, was a student of the Presidency College, Calcutta. Like most parents of our poor Bengali artists, his too did not regard the profession of art as lucrative or honourable enough as a future career, and as such Mr. Sen had to run the gauntlet of all the University examinations. He passed the M. A. Examination in English with a first class. It is not generally known that Mr. Sen is a distinguished scholar in English and Sanskrit, and this cultural background has stood him in good stead, in his artistic endeavours. The lyrical note in his paintings with their sunny charm is no doubt derived from the old and modern lyricists in verse, like Theocritus, Omar Khayyam, Shelly, Keats, Wordsworth, Magha, Kalidas, Bharavi and Rabindranath. Paintings like his famous illustrations of Omar Khayyam,\* "To whom shall we offer our sacrifice?"\* "Rama the Deer-slayer", "The Rill", "The Milkmaid",\* (the only picture by an Indian artist which was sold at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley) go to show the scholarly lyrical note which pervades most of his work.

The year following the University life, saw him in the Indian society of Oriental Art amongst his *Ustad* and friends. It was there that the writer first made acquaintance with this artist's work and he can still distinctly remember the impression created on his mind by pictures from Mr. Sen's brush. Some of his paintings excited a great deal of notice, and from this time onwards the artist established a solid reputation in the new school of painting, and his pictures found places of honour in the private collections of connoisseurs like Lord Carmichael, Lord Ronaldshay, the Countess

\* Published in the *Modern Review* and Chatterjee's Picture Albums.



of Lytton, Rabindranath Tagore, O. C. Gangoly, Sir Dorab Tata, Sir Francis Stewart, and the Maharani of Cooch Behar, etc. His pictures are always satisfying and one is really very happy in front of the work of this young artist. His small water-colour "The Porcelain Palace," (in the possession of the Maharani of Cooch Behar), was very much appreciated by all true lovers of art. It still remains fresh in our memory as a thing of beauty and joy for ever. During these days, our Silpa-Guru Abanindranath once remarked, "Biru's hand is like mine of the earlier days," and expressed the hope that he would become a leader of the young generation of painters one of these days. He paints his figures with the native vivacity of the Rajput and Mogul masters, and his paintings are veritable feasts of colour; the orientalism of his reds and blues gives to Mr. Sen's art its special value and distinction, and the deft use of gold and silver in some of his pictures remind one of Bihzad. I imagine that in painting his pictures the artist's principal aim is to produce a decorative design, pleasing in line and sensuous in colour. This of course should be the primary aim in every picture of every Indian artist and it is evident that Mr. Sen has discovered the best way for the naturalistic treatment of decorative designs though it must be admitted that Mr. Sen has a distinct fondness for the more conventional treatment of old Indian masters.

"The artistic temperament is by its very nature erratic and uncertain. The artist is a rover, like a butterfly who sips nectar, where and when he can. A seeker after the new and beautiful, who refuses to be bound by time and place" This spirit of restlessness worked in Mr. Sen for some time and it was doubtful whether he would lean towards art or towards scholarship. Art, it is universally known, is the neglected Cinderella of our Educational Institutions and it is for this reason that most of the Indian artists have to lead a precarious existence depending solely on the sale-proceeds of their pictures. Nearly every artist has thus been compelled to take up uncongenial duties, not because he particularly likes it, but because there is no other way to keep the wolf from the door. For this reason, Mr. Sen had to accept a Professorship of English Literature at Patna in 1923, far from his home and the centre of the new art movement. The dull life in an old town like Patna could not be very fruitful, so far

as artistic activities are concerned, and in spite of the production of some of his most beautiful water-colours "The Sea Maiden," "Rama the Deer-Slayer," "Damayanti," etc., the genius of Mr. Sen was not appreciated to the extent it ought to have been by the local connoisseurs.



Buddha Carrying the Crippled Goat  
By Mr. Bireswar Sen

Sequestered living in a sleepy and lifeless town soon gave an introspective tone to Mr. Sen's painting and his technique was marked by a novel transformation, as is evidenced by his "Spring Flowers," "The Temptation of Budha," etc.

In February 1926, he left off teaching in Patna and joined the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow, for the exposition of the beauties of the dry-as-dust works of English minor poets soon tired him. Naturally

\* Published in the *Modern Review* and Chatterjee's Picture Albums.



averse by temperament to the dissection of the beauty of poetry for the benefit of the young hopefuls in Colleges his work as a teacher which failed to lure him with the beauty of light and shade and form and colour, the vividness of the paint, the fine tonality, the subtle colour-contrast and the masterly perspective, soon lost all its charm and finally the super-sensitive tendency towards art which he possessed made him come to Lucknow—the garden city of India. Here inspired with the beautiful colours and forms of the late Islamic art and architecture, he has produced some notable pictures like the "Sisters," (in the possession of T. Chatterji, Esq., Calcutta), "Fruit Gathering," "Zebunnisa reading her divan to Aurangzeb" and "The Thorn" (reproduced as frontispiece), whose colours are fine, lustrous and vivid, yet not shrieking.

It is essential that an artist like Mr. Sen should be in a congenial atmosphere of art like the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow. He has already entered upon that settled productive stage in the career of an artist which must come to every artist, if he is to reap the harvest. Like every true Indian artist, he is never

content to paint merely what he has seen, but wishes to translate what he feels into glowing colours and flowing lines. With him the subject of his picture is comparatively unimportant, so long as it lends itself to the scheme of colour and the decorative form of design he wishes to present. It is doubtless he has been successful in his mission both as an artist and as an art-teacher. Short as his stay has been at Lucknow, he has produced pupils of whom a great future has been predicted. Mr. A. D. Thomas, whose work is already familiar to the readers of this magazine, is one of the first batch of his students and it is hoped that a long line of illustrious pupils will succeed Mr. Thomas.

Mr. Sen's work in the School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow, has been prolific. He has designed brassware, furniture, wall-paintings and other large decorations and has shown his activity in manifold directions. Though of a retiring disposition, it is impossible for Bireswar Sen to hide his light under a bushel. I firmly believe that he is one of the unique Indian artists of the present day and that he is assured of a still more brilliant future.

## SOME PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH HARSHA

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., Benares

THE recent discussion about some problems connected with the age of Harsha has drawn public attention to a number of controversial points. A few of these will be discussed here:—

1. 'Kumaramatya'—Prof. Mookerji interprets this term as 'counsellor for a prince' [Hars'ha p. 106]. This interpretation seems to be natural, but the epigraphical evidence, I am afraid does not support it. For,

(i) Harishena who was directly serving under Emperor Samudragupta at Pataliputra in the military and foreign departments is designated as *Kumaramatya*. Samudragupta was no longer a *kumara* at this time and so the title should have been *Paramabhattarakamatya* if we accept Mr. Chatterji's interpretation and *rajamatya* if that of Dr. Mookerji.

(ii) From the Karamdanda Inscription [E. I. X p. 171] we learn that Sikharasvami was a minister to Maharajadhiraja Chandragupta and still he is designated as *Kumaramatya*; similarly his son

Prithivishena was first a minister to Maharajadhiraja Kumaragupta I and was then made the Commander-in-Chief. If *Kumaramatya* meant counsellor to a prince sent as governor then that title could not have been used with reference to these two officers who were directly serving under Emperor; they should have been styled *rajamatya*.

(iii) In the Damodarpur plates we find that the *Kumaramatya* Vitavarman was a district officer appointed by the governor Chiradatta [plate No. I & 2]. It is on the strength of this passage that Prof. Mookerji suggests that *Kumaramatya* was a counsellor for a prince appointed as a Governor. But there was no royal governor at Pundravardhana nor any royal district officer at Kotivarsha when the *Kumaramatya* was appointed. If there was any royal district officer at Kotivarsha his name would certainly have been mentioned in plate no. 1 which enumerates all officers in the city, including *nagarasreshthin*, *sarthavaha*, *prathamakulika* and *prathamakayastha*. Plate no. 1 therefore makes it clear that a district officer



could be called a *Kumaramatya* although he was not connected with any prince appointed as Governor.

The above evidence makes it abundantly clear the *Kumaramatya* was not necessarily a counsellor to a prince but was a general official title applicable to officers of a certain rank. Prof. Banerji's theory that there were four ranks of *Kumaramatyas*, those equal in rank to the Emperor himself (*Paramabhattarakapadiya Kumaramatya*) those equal in rank to the heir-apparent (*yuvarajabhattacharakapadiya*) those equal in rank to the younger princes of the blood royal (*yuvarajapadiya Kumaramatya*) and ordinary *Kumaramatyas* of the lowest rank presupposes that *padiya* means 'as reverential as' or equal in rank to. If the reading were *padiya* this sense may have appeared plausible. Pada or *charana* is used after the names of persons or offices to show the reverence in which these persons or offices are held by the speaker or writer of *tatapada* or *tacharana Sri-Govinda-Bhagavat-pujyapada shishyasya Sri-Sankara-Bhagavatah*. Pada is thus used to show reverence to the person after whose name it is used and not to show that the person by whom it is used is to be as highly respected as the person after whose name it is used. I hold that the four expressions in question do not indicate four ranks of *Kumaramatyas*. If this were so we expect that Harishena who was obviously a favourite of Samudragupta would not have been a mere *Kumaramatya*. Prithivishena was a mere *Kumaramatya* when he was made a Commander-in-Chief; one expects that a person who was translated to that high office should have been not a *Kumaramatya* of the lowest rank but at least of the third or second if not of the first. As a matter of fact Gupta inscriptions nowhere refer to any of *Yuvarajapadiya* or *Paramabhattarakapadiya Kumaramatyas* they are to be seen only in seal legends. Seal legends of the various offices would naturally use the most pompous phraseology, *yuvarajabhattacharakapadiya baladhikarana* or *kumaramatyadhikarana* would simply mean the office of commander or minister attached to the heir-apparent; *padiya* issued after his name to show respect to him. Apart from this difference, I agree with Professor Banerji that a description of the Gupta system of administration while discussing administration under Harsha is irrelevant unless it is first proved that Harsha continued that system. Items of taxation, for instance, varied considerably with different kings and times. To proceed to determine sources of revenue of Harsha from the evidence supplied by the 6th and 8th century Valabhi grants would be hardly a flawless procedure. If this method is followed, one can as well suggest that Harsha had imposed a tax leviable at the festivity of attaining puberty for a seventh century Chalukya inscription mentions such a tax [I. A. XIX p 145] As it is the above suggestion can neither be confirmed nor contradicted for the simple reason that there is not sufficient evidence to come to any conclusion.

2. I agree with Prof. Banerji that the discussion of the Gupta art in a book dealing with Harsha is as irrelevant as the procedure to incorporate a description, extending over nine pages, of the land and sea routes connecting India with China, in a chapter of fifteen pages dealing with social

life under Harsha. I am further afraid that one cannot determine the nature of art under Harsha of which hardly any specimens are handed down, from the art specimens belonging to Ellora and Badami, places never included in Harsha's empire. The art at Ellora besides shows greater resemblance to the Pallava than to the Gupta art.

3. With reference to the word *Dranga*, there is no doubt that most of the Sanskrit dictionaries assign to this word the sense of a town they all rely on Vachaspathya who says on the authority of Hemachandra IV, 37 that it denotes a kind of town, *puribheda*. The Koshas describe *Dranga* as *Karvalad-adhamo drangah pattanad-uttama-sha yah* the point at issue then is to determine the nature of town denoted by *dranga*. I think that Stein's able and exhaustive note [*Rajatarangini* II pp. 291-2] makes it abundantly clear that *drangika* denoted an officer in charge of a frontier station. So that was the sense of the word at least in the 12th century and in Kashmir. It may be pointed out that Hemachandra, whom all the modern dictionaries follow does not go against this interpretation, he simply says that *dranga* was a kind of town, it may as well have been a frontier town or watch station. In this connection it may be interesting to note that even today in Sind *dang* is used, as my colleague Prof. Sipahi Malani informs me to denote a boundary, and that *Drangiana* is the name of the boundary province that separated the Dravidian Brahmins from the Aryans in Afghanistan. I, therefore, think that we have to accept the conclusion that *Drangika* was an officer in charge of a frontier station rather than the current view reproduced by Prof. Mookerji that it denotes a city Magistrate.

Prof. Mookerji's description of the economic conditions under Harsha further raises a serious issue. He says (p 171) "The Brahmins had no part in the industrial life of the country but lived as non-economic men concerned only with the spiritual interests of life. The work of administration was taken over by the Kshatriyas."

I am afraid that such was not the condition under Harsha. Even as early as the time of the *Jatakas*, many among the Brahmins were following some of the prohibited professions. The long lists of Brahmanas that we come across in Smritis when they enumerate Brahmanas prohibited at *Sraddha* following forbidden professions shows the same thing. The Sungas and Kanvas were Brahmins and yet rulers of Kingdoms. Among Harsha's contemporaries, kings of Assam, Ujjayini, Chichito, and Maheswarapura were Brahmanas as we learn from Yuan Chwang. Inscriptions supply us with innumerable instances of Brahmins occupying the posts of ministers, district officers and provincial governors. We similarly learn from Yuan Chwang that many contemporary Kings were Vaishyas and some even Sudras. To say therefore that the work of administration was taken over by the Kshatriyas is inaccurate. In ancient as in modern India, all classes tried for posts in the administration and got them. I think that it is never a safe procedure to draw conclusions about the actual conditions of Hindu Society of a particular age from traditional dictums incorporated in Smritis written several centuries before.

[This Controversy is now closed.—Editor, M. R.]





## Some Conquerors of the Atlantic

### THE LESSONS THEY DRAW FROM IT

The western flight over the Atlantic has shown that an airplane can conquer the winds and that we have learned lessons that will be of great value in the future.

I believe that passenger service will not be made use of so much at first as the mail transport. However, if we are in possession of motors

which will enable us to cover 180 miles or more an hour, the dangers caused by changing weather will be lessened and the passenger service will gain favor in the public's eye.

I have no doubt whatsoever but that such motors will be constructed in a short time, and we can confidently expect successful developments in this direction in the next few years.

BARON VON HUENEFELD

As a representative of the Irish Free State Flying Corps, says Captain Fritz Maurice one of the world's youngest flying services, I welcomed the opportunity to come to America as co-pilot of the "Bremen" not only for the honor of helping fly the first plane across the North Atlantic from east to west, but because of the impetus our successful flight will give to aviation in my native land.

The location of Ireland as the nearest point in the Old World on the great circle course to the New World will make it the cross-roads of Atlantic aerial navigation in the future.

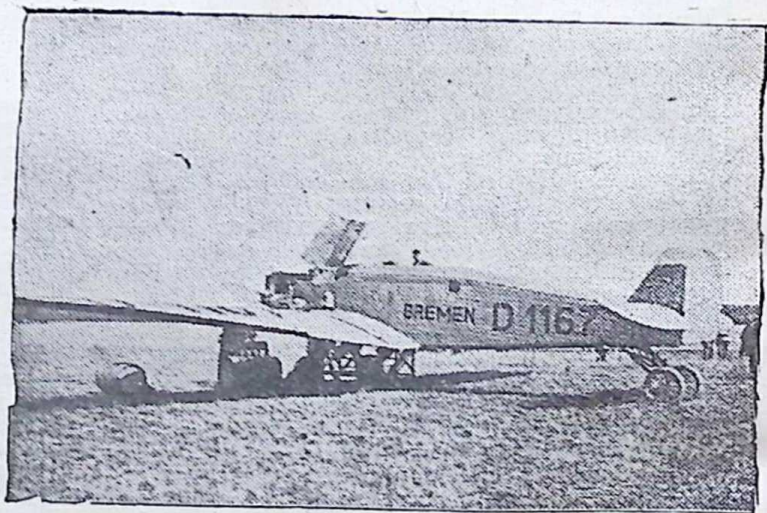
Capt. Kohl writes, The great lessons from the "Bremen" flight center around the combat of the atmospheric conditions with a rugged plane and proper instruments. That the day is not so very far off when many others will be following our trail from east to west over the Atlantic, there is



The Three of the Bremen

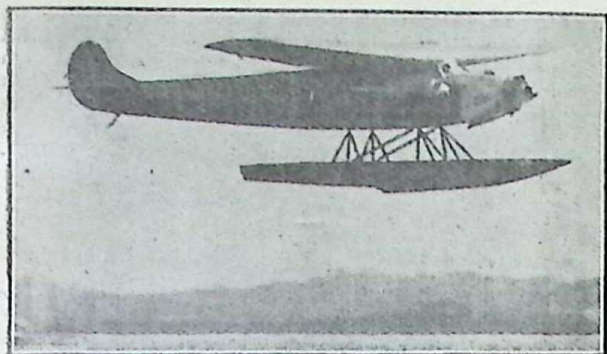


Miss Earhart the First Lady to hop the Atlantic



The Bremen



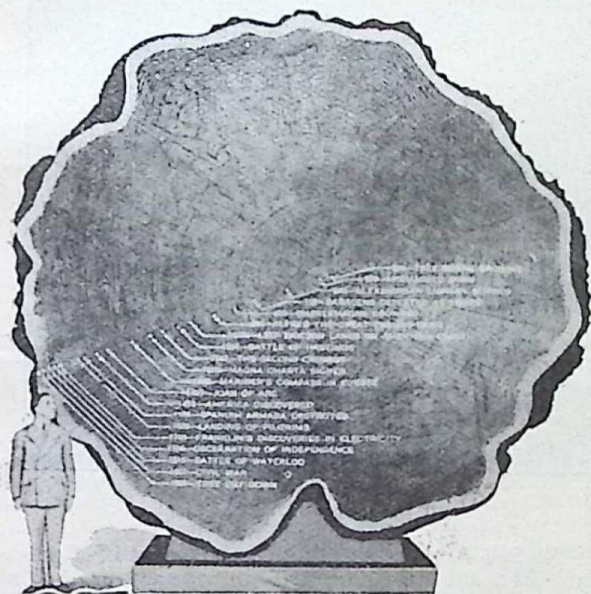


Friendship, which carries Miss Earhart

no doubt in my mind. The "Bremen" flight taught me that.

### Rings of Trees that Solve Weather Mysteries

Light on the weather changes of the past is gained from a study of the rings of trees and furnishes a basis for forecasting the fluctuations



Rings of Trees that Solve Weather Mysteries

of the larger changes in the ring record appear to correspond with the sunspot cycles.

### A Buddha Head ?

Stone Head from a mural decoration on a Yucatan Temple is presented here: many of the Mayan and Aztec carvings are striking works of art, despite the ravages of time.



A Buddha Head ?

### The Potato-Tomato

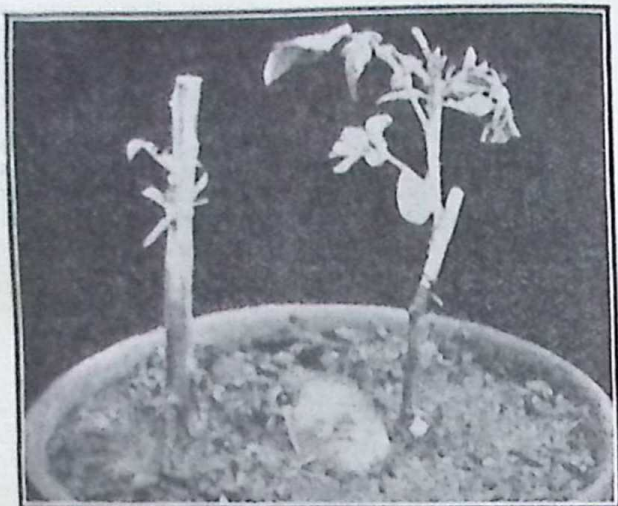
By skilful grafting, one may obtain a plant that will bear tomatoes as fruit above ground and potatoes as tubers below it.

The the plants which bear them are closely related, tomatoes and potatoes are very different in their development. The tomato is produced in the air, the potato in the ground. We can graft the shoots of one on the roots of the other.

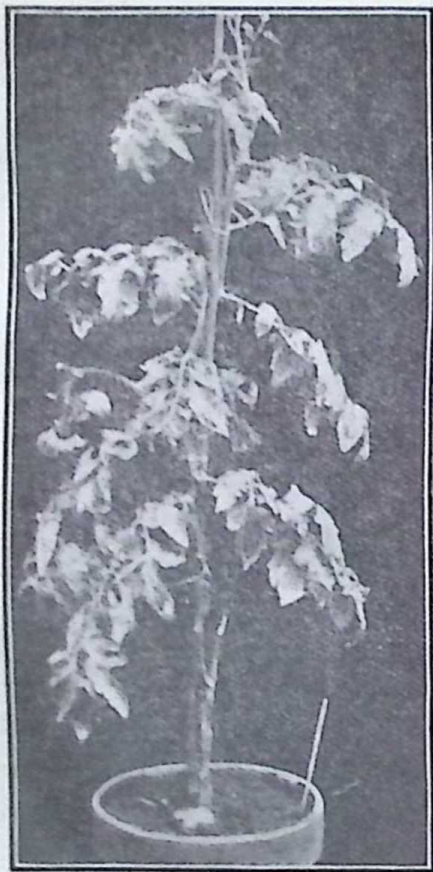
If, for instance, we take the buds out of a potato stem and replace them with buds from a tomato plant we will obtain such a freakish individual. The potato shoot has been cut back and the tomato buds, healed in place, have started to grow. If they continue, as did the plant in the picture, they will eventually produce a plant which will be like a tomato above the graft and like a potato below the graft. Two or three such plants are now on exhibit at the Missouri Botanical Garden and are a surprising sight with their

of the future, according to experts who have spent considerable time in reading the "language of the trees," as revealed in the annual rings. Dr. Andrew E. Douglas, of the University of Arizona, discovered that there was a striking correlation between the rings of a large number of trees he studied and the actual weather conditions as shown by government reports. Some





Potato-Tomato a week after grafting



Potato Tomato-in fruit

tomatoes ripening in the air and their young potatoes already visible at the surface of the ground.

"It is remarkable how completely the two tissues, that of the potato and that of the tomato, preserve their identity, tho so closely associated. There seems to be practically no influence of the one on the other. The potato roots remain like potato roots, and the underground stems produce perfectly ordinary potatoes as unconcerned as if they had always been watched over by a tomato-stepmother.

*Literary Diges*

### 'Mother in Art'

The price paid by Sir Joseph Duveen for the Desborough Raffael is declared by him to have been £875,000. Next autumn the picture will come to America and doubtless hang somewhere in one of the great private galleries. The painting, also known as the 'Niccolini Madonna,' or the 'Cowper Madonna of 1508,' was inherited by Lady Desborough from her brother Francis Thomas, the seventh Earl Cowper. It was purchased out of the Niccolini Palace, Florence, by George Nassau, the third Earl Cowper, then



Whistler's Mother

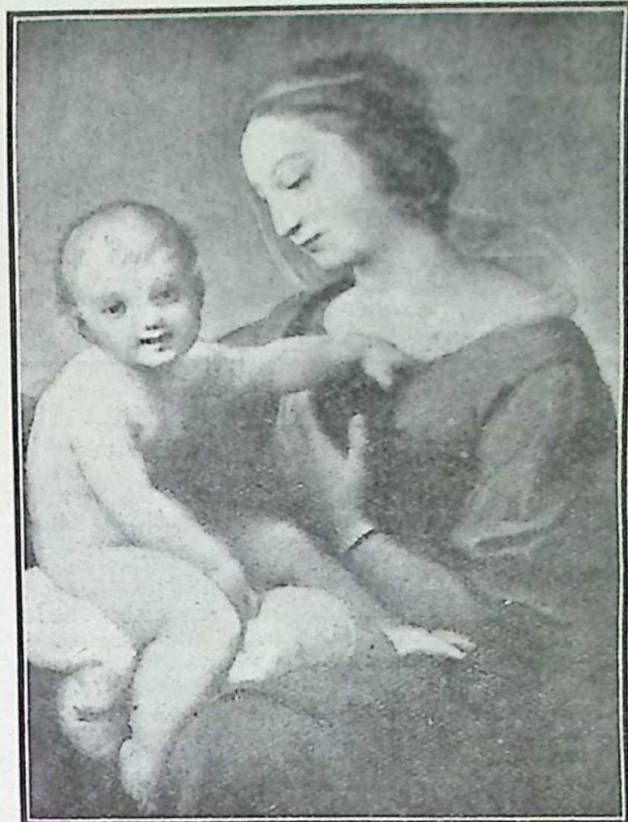
the British Ambassador to the Court of Tuscany and taken out of Florence in the lining of his carriage. The Madonna wears a red tunic, blue mantle and a gauzy headress. The sky forms the background. The expression in the eyes of the Child which is chiefly produced by the strong shadows under the lower lids is particularly remarkable. The Virgin, on the contrary recalls in purity and elevation of expression the Canigiani Madonna and the Madonna with the palm in the Bridgewater Gallery.

Epstein's 'Oriental Madonda' for which an Indian lady acted as the model has been differently appraised by different critics, some bursting into eloquent praise, some condemning it with as





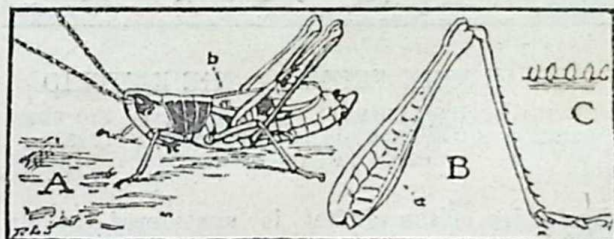
Epstein's Oriental Madonna



Rafael's Madonna

## Insect Musicians

A few of the grass-hoppers make sounds that are perhaps music in their own ears. *Chloealtis* is a fiddler and plays two instruments at once. The fiddles are his front wings and the bows his hind legs.



## How the Grasshopper Makes Music

It produces the sound by scraping its toothed hind thigh over a sharp-edged vein (*b*) on the wing. (*Chloealtis conspersa*). A, the male grasshopper, showing stridulating vein (*o*) of left wing. B, inner surface of right hind thigh, showing row of teeth at *a*. C, the teeth more enlarged.

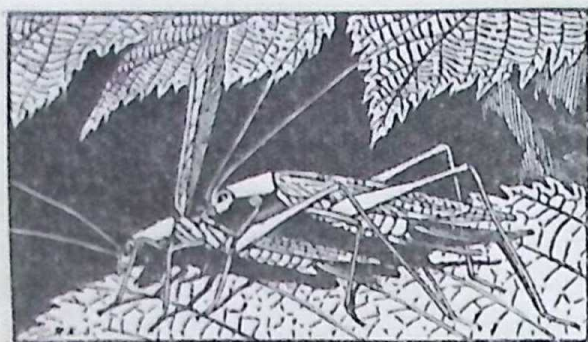
The katydids, Mr. Snodgrass tells us, show the highest development of the art attained by insects,

much fury. It, however, helps to show how the mother motive is being treated—and treated with conspicuous success as most of us would be inclined to say—by one of the greatest of the modern artists.

Whistler's 'mother' is celebrated—though not exactly a 'madonna motive.' The famous portrait of his mother, was exhibited in the Royal Academy in London, in 1872, was purchased by the French Government, where it hung for many years in the Luxembourg on its destined way to the Louvre. "Mr. Whistler called this picture an arrangement in Gray and Black," protested that the fact of the original having been his mother was no concern of the public. Mr. Whistler, however, did not realise how largely our feelings and emotions stimulate our power of appreciation, and it is a fact that the knowledge, of the relationship does add to our interest in a portrait which reveals, to use Mr. Swinburne's words, 'intense pathos of significance and tender depth of expression.'



## Ship That Ferries Train



## A STRANGE INSECT SONGSTER

Notice this tree-cricket family. The male is singing with wings extended. The female is bending over him, doubtless attracted by the music, and is eagerly lapping up a clar fluid which she finds at such times just between the wings of the singer.

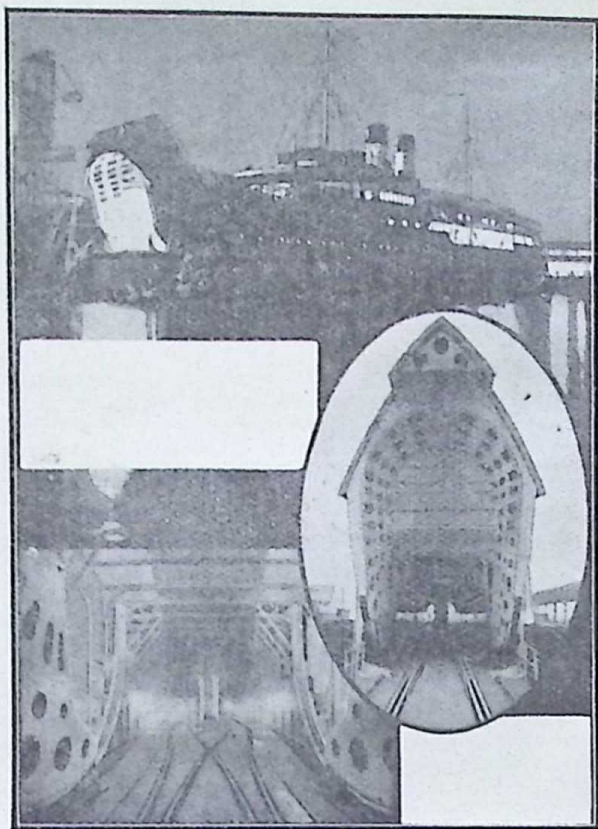
The katydids always fold the wings with the overlapping the right, and in this position the file of the former lies above the ridge of the latter. If now the wings are moved sideways, the file grating on the ridge or scraper causes a rasping sound, and this is the way the katydid makes the notes of its music. The tone and volume of the sound however, are probably in large part due to the vibration of the thin basal membranes of the wings.



## OUR AUTUMN FRIENDS. THE KATYDID

Here is the true katydid. His music is the most familiar of all sounds in the country these early fall evenings.

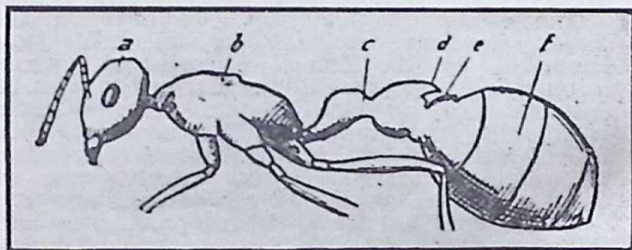
The chirp of the cricket is considered by Mr. Snodgrass the most familiar note of all insect music. "The unceasing ringing that always rises on summer evenings, that shrill melody of sound that seems to come from nothing but from everywhere out-of-doors, is mostly the chorus of the tree-cricket, the blend of notes from innumerable harpists playing unseen in the darkness. Next comes the cicada, which is the insect popularly the incorrectly known as the "locust." Its loud song is always a feature of the day time from midsummer till early fall, while the chorus of the seventeen-year species is a special event.



Ship That Ferries Train

## Ants as Musician

With all the Accomplishments for which the ant has been famous since the days of Solomon,



## The Musical Ant and his little Banjo

*a* is his head; *b* his thorax *c* his 'stalk' or petiolus; *d* his plectrum; which strikes *e*, the grooved "lute," and makes the music, *f* the abdomen.



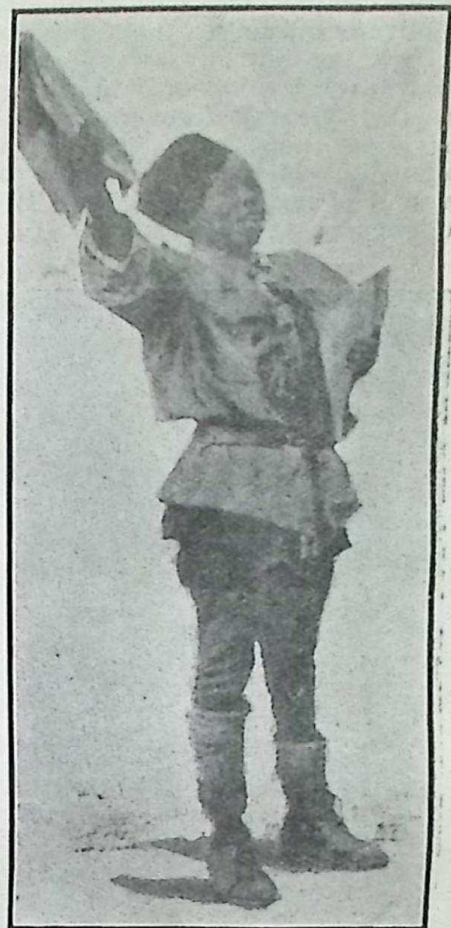
it has hitherto not been celebrated for its musical gifts. However, certain species possess a stridulating instrument consisting of a finely ridged "lute" upon the abdomen and a plectrum so situated that by rasping the surface it can produce an extremely delicate and high-pitched musical note. This phenomenon is described and commented upon by Dr. Robert Staeger in *Kosmos* (Stuttgart). In the course of a mountain expedition he came upon a nest of large red ants (*Myrmica Rubra*), and was puzzled by certain sounds.

"All of these little 'musicians' among the ants make use of a similar instrument, differing only in being attuned to a higher or lower pitch. This instrument consists of two distinct parts, which we will call the lute and the plectrum. The 'lute' is situated on the abdomen and consists of microscopically fine grooves; the plectrum is in the shape of a rod or pencil attached to the segment which unites the abdomen and the thorax. When the ant moves its abdomen rapidly up and down the pencil moves in brief intervals across the grooves of the 'lute': there ensues a sort of a humming chirp which is perceptible by our ears only when great numbers of the little musicians unite in a 'symphony.'

### Changing Sahara

Ten thousand automobiles in modern Tunis, of which five hundred are autobuses, touring far into the Sahara Desert, stimulate the mind to consider how East and West have met since the after years of the war. The blessings of urban civilization have "penetrated to the remotest oases."

*Literary Digest*



A Sahara Newsboy

## THE KASHI VIDYAPITHA

By DEVAVRATA SASTRI

SOME educationists and nationalists of Benares resolved to start a national (educational) institution that may produce men of independent minds and means, who might realize the dignity of manual labour, regenerate the ancient Hindu civilization and cultivate in them a spirit of service and sacrifice.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Babu Bhagwan Das of Benares to start a national college at Benares. Finding this opportunity very suitable to their intentions and to the country, Babu Bhagwan Das and Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta decided to establish a national college there, and the institution named 'Kashi Vidyapitha' was established by



Mahatma Gandhi on the tenth February, 1921. It was decided that the Vidyapitha would not be in any way under the present government or in future even under the 'Swarajya' government, but the Swarajya government might recognise it, unconditionally. It was also decided that the medium of education would be 'Hindustani' as the language and 'Devanagri' as the script

qualification, can be admitted into the first year class. Hindi, English and Sanskrit are compulsory subjects for the first year students and they have to choose one subject more, out of Sociology (History, Economics and Politics), Philosophy and Sanskrit as optional subjects; and after the first year, they have to specialise in that chosen optional subject along with English as com-



A Group of *Snatakas*, Professors and students at the Convocation of the Kashi Vidyapitha

and technical education would be one of its main objects. The world-famous Oxford and Cambridge universities are quite free from government control and there are many such independent universities in Japan and America, that are doing a great service to their countries. The Vidyapitha has got four departments, i.e., college, school, technical and publication.

#### COLLEGE

Any matriculate of a national or a government university or having equivalent

pulsory, through the remaining three years. Education is quite free and there is also provision for fifty scholarships of Rs. 10 each for deserving and meritorious students. The wearing of Khaddar and spinning half an hour daily are compulsory for the students.

There are two kinds of examinations in the Vidyapitha called 'Visharad' and 'Shastri.' The course of 'Visharad' is equal to the Intermediate standard of other Universities and 'Shastri' is equal to that of the M. A. Up-till-now nearly 400 students have passed



the 'Visharad' examination and 35 have graduated from the Vidyapitha. The degree of 'Shastri' is conferred on the graduates of the Vidyapitha at the convocation held each year. Four batches of graduates have completed their course and have received this degree. These four convocations were addressed by Acharya Bhagwan Das, Acharya Rajendra Prasadji, Acharya A. T. Gidwani and Acharya C. V. Vaidya. Graduates of this institution are leading a life of independent occupation. They are giving their services to the country under prominent political and social organization such as the Servants of the People Society. All-India Khadi Service, All-India Achhuto-Dhar Sabha and others. Many of them are professors and teachers in national colleges and schools and editors of newspapers. There are also good speakers and intelligent writers among them doing a remarkable service to Hindu literature. A few of them are learning French and German at Shantiniketan with a view to going to France and Germany for higher education.

#### SCHOOL

The Vidyapitha has got a high school like a collegiate school. In non-co-operation days there were many national high schools of U. P. and C. P. recognised and examined by the Vidyapitha, but gradually nearly almost all of them breathed their last and at present only a few are remaining.

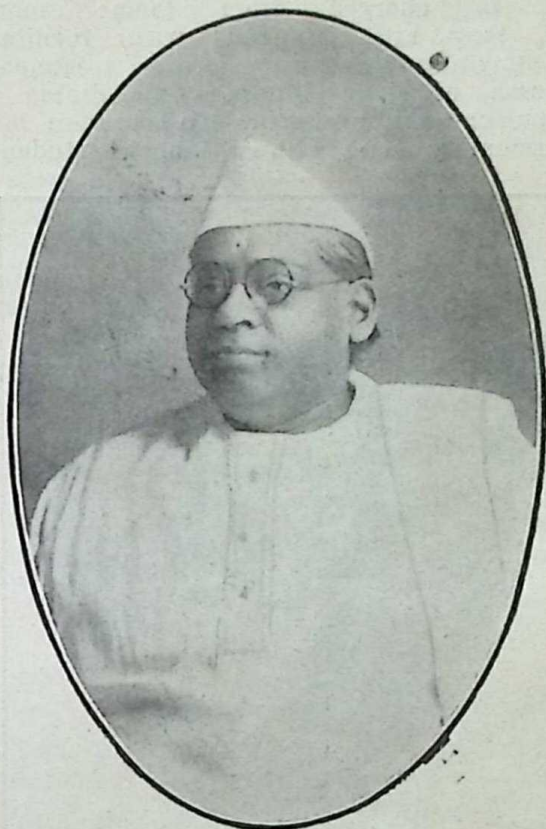
#### TECHNICAL DEPARTMENT

As already mentioned, this department has been opened, that students of this institution may not wander from door to door in search of their livelihood, and may lead an independent life with the help of their technical training. There were six subsections of this department. But except carpentry, sewing and cane-work, others have been closed, as students were not so much interested in them. It is hoped that in future this department will get more importance and success.

#### PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT

The fourth is the publication department. It publishes a series of books called Jnanmandal Series. This is a well-known series. The department has published many use-

ful books, specially on history and politics. Every professor has to write a book each year in his subject and they are published in this series. It is well-known to all that this 'Jnanmandal' series is fulfilling a great need of Hindi literature, though with a very slow speed.



Sreejuka Babu Shibprasad Gupta

The Vidyapitha has got about twenty-five professors and teachers in all these departments. The professors are very learned and experienced, and are specialists in their subjects. They take small honorarium only to maintain themselves. Babu Bhagwan Das, M.A., the renowned scholar and philosopher, is the Chancellor, Sjt. Narendra Deva M.A. LL. B., is the Principal and Sjt. Sriprakash, B. A., LL. B. Bar-at-law, specialist in politics, is the Vice-principal of the Vidyapitha.

#### COMMITTEES

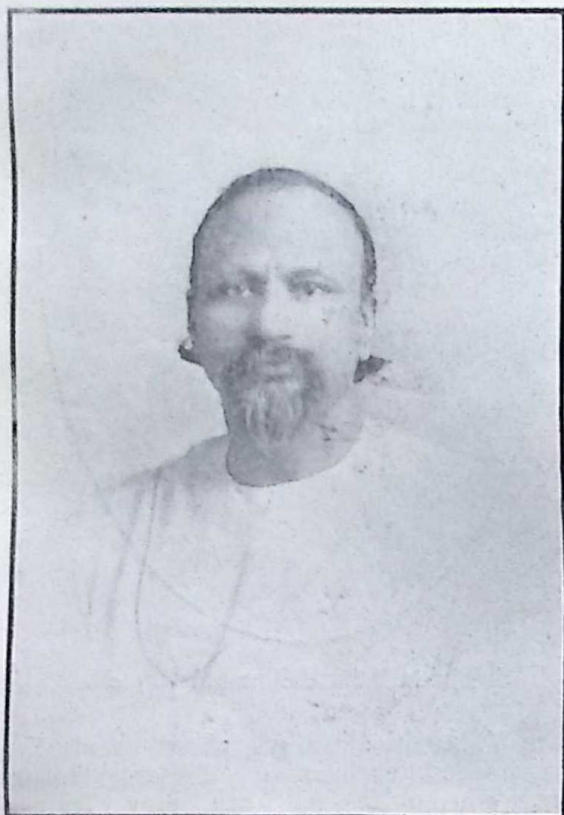
The Vidyapitha has got three committees—Supervisory (Nirikshak Sabha), managing (Prabandh Samiti) and the Senate (Shiksha Parishad). The Senate controls and manages all



the educational functions of the institution. Students also have got an assembly, named Vidyarthi Parishad (Students' Union).

#### HOSTEL

Almost all the students reside in hostels. No seat rent or anything of the kind is charged from them; moreover, they are supplied with furniture and all kinds of necessary medical treatments in case of their illness. Inter-dining is compulsory and professors too take their food occasionally along with the hostel students.



Sj. Babu Bhagwandas

Besides this, on the occasion of the Vidyapitha anniversary and convocation, as also on other important functions, a general feast has become a usual tradition of the Vidyapitha, joined by all the inmates and sympathisers without any distinction of caste or creed. There are two hostels at present and nearly fifty students along with some professors reside therein.

The Vidyapith life is a life of 'plain living and high thinking'.

The Kashi Vidyapitha is also a training institution for self-dependence. Students have to do all their work (except cooking) themselves. And because of this self-dependence and simple living, they are very much profited economically too. At present when government college-students spend 40 to 80 and 100 rupees a month, these students of the Vidyapitha spend only 15 rupees a month for their higher college education.

#### DAILY ROUTINE AND TEACHING

Classes begin with congregational prayer and the 'Vandemataram' national song. Classes are held in the morning throughout the whole year, so that students may be able to work in technical departments in the after-noon. The medium of education as mentioned above is Hindi. All the lectures are delivered in Hindi and examination-papers written in 'Devanagari' script. No doubt, students are profited by the Hindi medium, but they have to bear difficulties too because the books on history, economics, politics, philosophy and others, are only a few in Hindi literature and so they have to read books on every subject in English. Classes are held in the open pleasant airy ground and under trees.

There is an arrangement of popular lectures on different subjects for adding to the general knowledge of students and this has proved very interesting and beneficial to them, subjects like history and economics are taught with great care. Students from most of the provinces of the country such as :—U. P., Behar, Bengal, C. P., C. I., Maharastra, Karnatak, Andhra, Madras and the Punjab, etc., come to the Vidyapitha, but the majority consists of Behari and U. P. students.

#### LIBRARY

Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta has given his whole up-to-date and well-equipped library, containing nearly 15 thousands of selected books in English, Hindi and Sanskrit, to the Vidyapitha. But at present as the Vidyapitha has not got a good building for such a library, only 2000 books have been brought from 'Seva Upavan' (Babu Shiva Prasadji's residence). In addition to this, the Vidyapitha has bought nearly 1000 books, out of its own fund. There is also a reading room, equipped with many Hindi and English daily, weekly and monthly magazines.



## PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

Teachers and students of the institution always play a prominent part in political and social works. At present, the institution has begun an admirable work in Benares city. It has arranged public lectures by its professors, on different useful and interesting subjects. Sjt. Narendra Deva and Sjt. Sri Prakash have finished their series of very interesting lectures on Buddhist India and political science, and lectures on 'Vedic religion' and other subjects are going on.

## BUILDINGS.

Vidyapitha has bought about eight acres of land,—five minutes' walk from the Benares Cantonment station and two buildings have been constructed. Yet it has to hire a few more buildings.

## NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

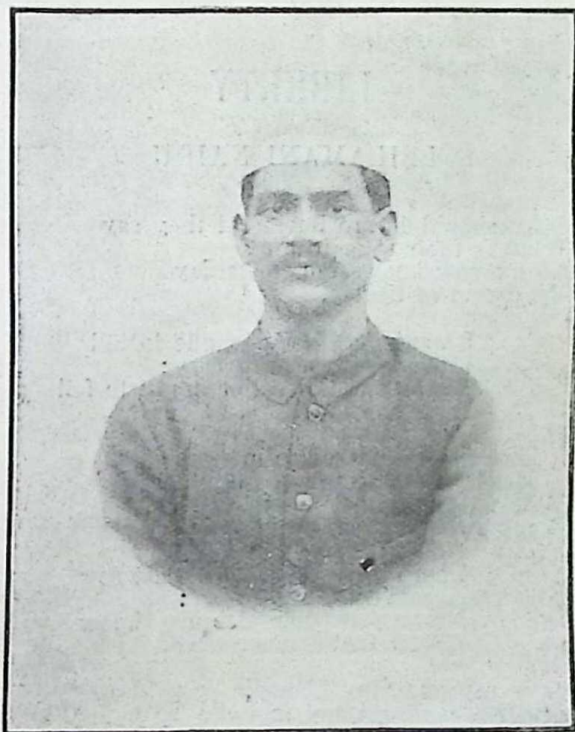
The Kashi Vidyapitha initiated a magnificent movement about national education in 1923. Babu Bhagwan Das, the then principal of the Vidyapitha, resolved to hold an educational conference to consider about the stability, shortcomings, reformation and improvement of national educational institutions. All the national and semi-national institutions were invited to send their representatives to the conference and 28 delegates of the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapitha, Poona, the national medical college, Bombay, the Gujrat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad, the Kashi Vidyapitha, Benares, the Behar Vidyapitha, Patna, the Komi Vidyapitha, Lahore, the National Art and Science College, Bombay the Tilak Komi Vidyalaya, Hyderabad (Sindh), the Tilak Vidyalaya, Bhivabharan, the Satyabadi School, Puri, the Prem-maha Vidyalaya, Brindaban, the National Muslim University, Aligarh, the Hindu University, Benares, the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad and the Bengal National Education Board, Calcutta, assembled at 'Seva Upavan' Benares, from February 23 to March 6, 1923. This conference passed many useful resolutions about the improvement and reformation of national education.\*

It was also decided to hold such a

conference every year at different places, but nothing more has been done from that day.

## FINANCIAL CONDITION

Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta is well-known in India for his generosity and patriotism. This national university of northern India is the fruit of his love of national education. He has donated his property worth ten lacs, for the advancement of learning through the medium of Hindi. This fund is called 'Sri Harprasad Educational Fund (Sri Har Prasad Shikshanidhi)' in memory of his late younger brother Sjt. Hara Prasad. The trust deed of the donation has been registered. The members of the trust are Sjt. Shiva Prasad Gupta, Rai Bahadur Babu Mukunda Lal,



Principal Sri Narendra Deb

Sjt. Krishna Kumar, Sjt. Sri Prakash, Sjt. Narendra Dev, Pt. Jawahar Lal Neheru. Sjt. Purusottam Das Tandon, Pt. Ramakant Malviya and Pt. Hridayanath Kunjaru. Guptaji has written in the trust deed that the interest of this fund (nearly five thousand rupees per month) will be spent on national and technical education, and the institution taking this sum, will have to use 'Devanagiri'

\* The report of the conference is published in English, and it can be had from the Registrar, Kashi Vidyapitha, Benares Cantt.



script and 'Hindustani' language as its medium of education, without any government control; and technical education will be one of its main subjects. The interest of the donation is given to this institution at present. Besides this, the Vidyapitha gets as sum of Rs. 1200 yearly from Joshi Damodarji and something like that from Babu Bhagwan Dasji. Besides this, Babu Bhagwan Das donated a sum of Rs. 1000 for the hostel building and at the same time he with his son Babu Sri Prakash, works in the Vidyapitha without any honorarium. With these funds the Vidyapitha has spent nearly a lac of rupees in buying plots of land and

erecting buildings, etc., the remaining sum has been spent on professors' honorarium, scholarships, servants' salaries, etc.

This is a brief account of the Kashi Vidyapitha. No doubt the failure of the non-co-operation movement has affected the Vidyapitha, but as it has got a strong footing with remarkable aims and objects, it has no anxiety about its shining future and it can be said that, through the great enthusiasm and labour of the authorities, with proper sympathy of the public, a day will come, when this national university will prove itself to be one of the greatest universities of the world.

## LIBERTY

LEILAMANI NAIDU

Why should I care for aught they say  
What is their song to me?  
No morrow knows nor yesterday  
My dream of liberty,

I want no other's tongue to tell  
Life's secret of sad tears;  
Nor other's hand nor might to fell  
Its canopy of fears.

I have a song none else may sing,  
A deed none else may dare;  
A hope-some sweet fantastic thing,  
Some sweet ecstatic prayer.

There is a seed that I must sow  
A harvest I must reap;  
A secret no man else may know  
A tear that I must weep.

It is my own, my liberty,  
My life, my soul, my fate  
And freedom to eternity  
My Master and my Mate.

O let them sing for aught they might,  
What is their song to me?  
No morrow binds nor yesternight  
My dreams of liberty.

(From "The Indus")

## BOUND

By LIZETTE WOODWORTH REESE

Could I shake you out of my heart,  
As water out of a cup,  
A little silver on the grass  
The sun would soon dry up—

Would I be poorer for this thing,  
The wiser, too? I know  
By all our days of ill or good  
I dare not let you go.

You are to me, I am to you  
Common, and found, and plain,  
As is a window to a house,  
As yarrow to a lane.

Too close to see each other else  
Than earth-thick to the core;  
So near there is nought left to us  
But to love and love the more,

—The Literary Digest





[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

### The Highest Mountain in the World

I am glad to find a colleague in the *Modern Review* for September commenting on my article "The Highest Mountain in the World" which appeared in the *Modern Review* for August, 1928. But my colleague has perhaps unwittingly done a little injustice to me. By 'our ignorance' I certainly meant 'ignorance of the people of India'—of course, excluding Nepal; and I am still of opinion that from the Indian side this peak was not known and consequently there was no name for it before it was actually discovered by the Survey of India—not a so-called discovery, as my colleague calls it.

The "Gauri-Sankar" was not unknown to me nor its association with Mr. Schlagintweit, but my colleague does not take into consideration the fact that the Survey of India definitely proved that what Schlagintweit saw was Gauri-Sankar no doubt—but it was never Everest. It was this mistake on the part of Schlagintweit that was responsible for the misnomer of Gauri-Sankar for Everest and its currency in the Indian and Continental literature of Europe. Mr. Freshfield's connection with the question is indeed a news to me for the mention of which I am thankful to my colleague. But I have it on the authority of the Royal Geographical Society of London (their letter dated the 11th March, 1925) that Gauri-Sankar is another peak than Mount Everest. This is also corroborated by the Survey of India. The long list of publications quoted by my colleague can certainly have no authority over the Royal Geographical Society of London.

My colleague has taken me to task for having supported the English people in their naming Mount Everest after Col. Everest. I might tell him for his edification that years ago I wrote an article in Bengali (*Prabasi*; *Magh*, 1325,) wherein I hinted that Mount Everest could not perhaps be named after its actual discoverer, probably because the honour of having actually discovered the highest mountain in the world fell to the lot of an Indian whose name was thus thrown into oblivion. I also suggested an investigation into the matter with a view to finding out a suitable Indian name for Mount Everest. I also put the matter up to the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* for their consideration and necessary action in the

matter but practically speaking I got no response or sympathy from my countrymen. In the meantime on my enquiry to them the Royal Geographical Society of London let me know that Mount Everest was discovered in the course of routine work of the Survey of India in determining the heights of all the peaks visible from the plains of India. The observations upon which the discovery was based were made by different officers and so it is not possible to speak of any one man as the discoverer. This was also confirmed by the Survey of India. If after all this I am compelled to acquiesce in the name of Everest I hope I am not greatly to blame.

Lastly I must thank my colleague for having put in his views and knowledge before the public and I shall be glad if he can further enlighten me on these and such points.

Satya Bhusan Sen

### Foundation of the Brahmo Samaj

An error has crept into Mr. N. C. Ganguly's article "Foundation of the Brahmo Samaj" published in "Modern Review" for September 1928. On page 298 of this issue, Mr. Ganguly says "A house belonging to Kamal Lochan Basu on the Chitpur Road in Jorasanko was selected and rented from its owner."

The name of the owner of the house referred to above is Ram Kamal Basu (better known as Feringee Kamal Basu) and not Kamal Lochan Basu as mentioned by the writer.

In my book (*Puratony* page 67) I have stated the reason why Babu Ram Kamal Basu was called Feringee Kamal Basu. His house on the Chitpore Road where the first meeting of Brahmo Samaj was held on the 20th August 1828 was No. 48 Chitpore Road as it appears from the Collector's receipt for taxes, (of the year 1843) some of which I had opportunity to get hold of. I know that this house is still standing on the Chitpore road, though it is no longer owned by the descendants of Feringee Kamal Basu.

Ram Kamal Basu and Ram Mohan Basu were two brothers. They were residents of Chander-



nagore. To distinguish one brother from the other they were perhaps called by the second part of their names—Kamal and Mohan. From Kamal Basu, Mr. Ganguly perhaps concludes that the full name of the man was Kamal Lochan Basu.

Hari Har Sett.

### Professor Sarkar on the Ancient Hindu University

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, C. I. E., has said in the *Hindustan Review*, July as quoted in the Indian Periodicals Columns of the *Modern Review* September, that "the ancient Hindu University without being rigidly isolated, was kept at a safe distance from the noisy luxurious capitals and gave the purest form of physical, intellectual and moral culture possible in any age, if we leave out natural science and mechanics." With all my respect for Prof. Sarkar's scholarship and historical acumen I presume to point out one omission in his estimate of the ancient Hindu University. The omission is the non-mention of spiritual culture—Atmavidya, the knowledge of the Self being the ultimate goal to which every individual soul must press forward. This was the most outstanding feature of the Indian national educational system. On the secular side the theoretical instruction was supplemented by the Upavedas and also by the Vidya's and Kala's (sciences and arts). I am at a loss to understand why Prof. Sarkar thinks that the ancient Indian University entirely excluded "natural science and mechanics" from their curriculum. Is it not a fact, on the contrary, that the experts in machinery (Yantravidya), craftsmen, and metallurgists of the ancient Indian Universities discovered the fast dye, indigo extract, and the tempered steel leading to the secret of Damascus blade, the

earliest contribution to the scientific art of distinction?

DHIRENDRA NATH CHOWDHURI

### "Raja Rammohun Roy at Rangpur"

I was interested to see a paper on the above subject, by Mr. Jyotirmoy Das Gupta, in the September number of the *Modern Review*. It is unfortunate that the letters as printed in his paper—the originals of which are among the Board of Revenue Records of the Bengal Government and copies of which I hold—are not only full of serious omissions, but also of errors that wholly nullify their value. I have no time to enumerate all of them, but I simply point out that the story, which he has taken so much pains to build up, that Rammohun Roy served at Rangpur "as Sherishtadar from the beginning of September to 3rd December, 1809" (i.e., the year in which he was made Diwan), goes to pieces, for the very simple reason of his misreading Rangpur for RAMGUR, in the following passage of Mr. Digby's letter to the Board of Revenue:—

"...Rammohun Roy, the man whom I have recommended to be appointed as Diwan of this office, acted under me in the capacity of Sherishtadar of the Fouzdary Court for the space of three months whilst I officiated as magistrate of the Zillah of RAMGUR..."

In the version printed by Mr. Das Gupta (see letter No. 2) Rangpur stands for Ramgur—an obvious mistake in deciphering. This has naturally led the writer to wonder "why there is no mention of the Raja's service at Ramgur...by Mr. Digby in letter No. 2..." Dr. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, in his Presidential Address, delivered on 29th July 1928, at the 11th Session of the Uttar-Banga Sahitya Sammilan, held at Rangpur, has published the correct texts of the letters.

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

## ERRATA

M. R. Aug. 1928

Page 158, Col. 1, line 11,

For 'Word with'  
read 'Word. With'

Page 158, Col. 1, line 12,

For 'Cleanthes. The author'  
read 'Cleanthes' the author'

Page 161, Col. 1, line 30,

For 'Kosoms'  
read 'Kosmos'

M. R. September 1928 Page 289 Col 2 line 14  
for majestic read maieutic.

P. 305 Col. 1 line 13 for husband being dead or  
the husband read husband or the husband being  
dead.





[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

## ENGLISH

ENGLISH WORKS OF RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY, Vol. I. Published by Mr. H. C. Sarkar, M. A. Secretary, Brahmo Samaj Centenary Committee, 210-6A, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Cloth, gilt letters. Rs. 3.

This is the first volume of the English works of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, published on the occasion of the Brahmo Samaj Centenary. It contains twenty-one of the Raja's translations of the Upanishads, controversial tracts, the Trust Deed of the Brahmo Samaj, Autobiographical Sketch, the *Brahmanical Magazine*, &c. It is neatly printed and elegantly bound in cloth.

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA: THEIR MANY MERITS. By Distinguished Europeans who have known them. Collected in "India" with an introduction by Mr. Alfred Webb, President of the Tenth Indian National Congress. Reprinted and Published with an appendix, containing additional testimonies, by H. A. Talcherkar, B. A. Barrister-at-Law, Veronica Street, Bandora, Bombay. Pp. 54. Price Four Annas.

It is humiliating to have to vindicate and establish our national character by publishing the testimonies of foreigners. But as our people have been continually calumniated for more than a century and as the slanderers have recently redoubled their efforts owing to well-known reasons, the publication of this pamphlet must be considered quite timely. The testimonies here brought together are quite reliable, as they were unsolicited and occurred in various publications of various dates by authors of different ranks following professions far different in character from one another. Publicists and all other English-knowing Indians would do well to keep a copy of the pamphlet by them. It is of greater importance to circulate it in America and Europe than in India. But for that purpose some occidental publisher will have to

be chosen; and the paper must be better, the type bigger and the cover more attractive.

We thank Mr. Talcherkar for the copy presented to us.

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ORGANISATION. Revised Edition, Information Section, League of Nations Secretariat, Geneva. Pp. 118. 6d.

THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS AND THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE. Information Section, League of Nations, Geneva. Pp. 166, 1sh.

The Information Section of the League of Nations is to be congratulated on the publication of this series of pamphlets. They state in an interesting and non-controversial manner what the League aims to do, has done and has been doing in various directions. Principles, methods and organisations are also described.

WITH GANDHIJI IN CEYLON. By Mahadev Desai, S. Ganesan. Publisher, Triplicane, Madras. Pp. 159. Nine illustrations. Re. 1-0.

Like the first volume of Gandhiji's Autobiography, this is a book which I had kept for perusal, page by page, when I had leisure. But the leisure never came, and may not come so long as life or eye-sight lasts. So I notice it in the conventional manner without further delay.

Gandhiji had a very cordial and enthusiastic reception in Ceylon from all sorts and conditions of men. Though he described his visit as a 'mercenary' one with humorous and engaging candour, the people of that island refused to regard it in that light and understood it instead as a humanitarian one.

The first part of the book contains the Journal, consisting of five chapters. Part II contains 32 speeches in various places. Part III is an appendix giving an account of the Khadi collections.

We call below at random a few passages from Gandhiji's utterances.

From *Message to Ceylon Congress*: "Claiming as you do, allegiance to India and endorsing, as you do, your connection with the story of



Ramayana, you should be satisfied with nothing but Rama Raj which includes Swaraj. When the evil stalks from corner to corner of this enchanting fairland, you must take up the question in right earnest and save the nation from ruin.

"Then there is the other thing, untouchability. You consider the Rodiyas as untouchables and their women are not allowed to cover their upper parts.

"It is high time for the Congress to take up the question of the Rodiyas, make them their own and enroll them as volunteers in their work. Democracy is an impossible thing until the power is shared by all, but let not democracy degenerate into mobocracy. Even a pariah, a labourer, who makes it possible for you to earn your living, will have his share in self-government. But you will have to touch their lives, go to them, see their hovels where they live packed like sardines. It is up to you to look after this part of humanity."

From *More Memories*: [At another meeting of the missionaries (at Jaffna) he developed this last thought, in reply to a question as to what he would wish India to be like in matters of religion. He reiterated his impatience with the missionary or the Musalman who thinks of getting hold of the untouchables for the sake of increasing his flock, and said that like the Dewan of Mysore he would ask them all to strive to make the untouchables better Hindus if they could].

"I should love all the men,—not only in India but in the world,—belonging to the different faiths,—to become better people by contact with one another, and if that happens the world will be a much better place to live in than it is today. I plead for the broadest toleration, and I am working to that end. I ask people to examine every religion from the point of the religionists themselves. I do not expect the India of my dream to develop one religion, i.e., to be wholly Hindu, or wholly Christian, but I want it to be wholly tolerant, with its religions working side by side with one another."

The book is clearly printed on opaque paper.

A WEEK IN INDIA (AND THREE MONTHS IN AN INDIAN HOSPITAL). *A. Fenner Brockway. 1sh net. The New Leader Ltd., 14 Great George Street, London, S. W. I. Pp. 83.*

Mr. Fenner Brockway spent three months and one week in India, the greater part of which was spent in a hospital owing to an accident. This book gives the reader the experiences of his visit. It contains word pictures of Gandhiji, N. M. Joshi, the Ali Brothers, A. Jinnah, the late Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Balubhai T. Desai, S. A. Brelvi, B. G. Horniman, K. Natarajan, the King of Afghanistan, Shuaib Quorshii, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Dost Mahomed Peer Mahomed, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Annie Besant, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, and Jawaharlal Nehru. But it contains much besides these pen portraits. It is brightly written and describes the India he saw ("a minute fraction of the whole") and to give a human picture of the men and women he met. He begins by saying that "this is not an authoritative book on India." But it is quite worth reading notwithstanding.

HELL FOUND !! *By S. A. Dange, Author of*

"*Gandhi vs. Lenin.*" *Vanguard Literature Company, 2-1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta. Price one Rupee, Pp. 123 ix. Red paper covers.*

In this book, which is very clearly printed in big type on thick paper, Mr. Dange describes what he experienced and observed in the lock-ups and jail where he had to pass his days for more than three years. He has indeed found Hell. The rooms, the raiments, the food, the treatment received by the prisoners, etc. as described by him in this book, not unoften with grim humour, are all disgusting, abominable, horrible,.....

Says he:

"I have succeeded, if at all, in casting a mere furtive glance at the huge vaults where tales of oppression lie submerged. And I am sure no individual human power will be able to open them.

"The tale of the Bourbon oppression and the secrets of the Bastille could be unearthed only by the united and exasperated will of an oppressed French proletariat. The bones of the murdered people hidden under the polished marble palaces of Czarism got new tongues only after the wrath of the workers and peasants had shaken the foundations of Imperialism. Therefore such attempts as mine have only a critical value and will remain incomplete without the complement of the determined action of a whole people to right its wrongs."

The author quotes in his preface the following article from the U. P. Jail Manual:—

"Art. 978. Labour in a jail should be considered primarily as a means of punishment and not of employment only; neither should the question of its being highly remunerative have much weight, the object of paramount importance being that prison work should be irksome and laborious and a cause of dread to evil-doers."

And then observes: "The picture that you see in the following pages will show how mild the above words are for what is being done in the jails...Against this, see the law in the workers, republic. Art. 9 of the Soviet Criminal Code says, 'Measures of social defence may not pursue the aim of inflicting physical suffering or degrading human dignity, nor does it aim at vengeance or punishment.'"

R. C.

ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE IN AFGHANISTAN: *By Dr. Upendra Nath Ghoshal M.A., Ph.D., Greater India Society Bulletin No. 5. Price Re 1 only.*

The history of India's cultural relations with her neighbours when fully written, will have two broad divisions: viz., her relations with the Western and with the Eastern nations. At present the accumulation of rich relics of this relation of India with Indo-China, Sumatra, Java, Bali, etc., has naturally produced the idea that Greater India meant India's relations with eastern peoples alone. But the epoch-making discoveries at Harappa and Mahenjodaro have forced us to look to the West for the earliest outside contact and this remains true down to the age of Asoka, who in his mission activities showed a marked preference for the Western neighbours. Dr. Ghoshal has done a great service to the Greater India movement by emphasizing in this monograph the importance of this line of investigation, starting with Afghanistan, and



provoking other investigators to seek on similar lines, the relics of Indian culture in Iran, and in the further West as well in Africa, Madagascar and other lands to the west of the Indian Ocean. In the preface of his stimulating Bulletin Dr. Ghoshal very rightly observes :

"Situating at the gateway of the Indian continent whence it commands all the main lines of its inland communication with Western and Eastern Asia, Afghanistan has been the channel through which have flowed the numerous cultural and other influences that have shaped the history of India in the past. On the other hand, the Indian influences, especially under the urge of the great movement of cultural expansion associated with Buddhism, have overflowed the western frontiers of India, and the signs of their triumph are writ large not only in the existing monuments of Afghanistan, the stupas, images, cave-shrines, pillars and the like, but were abundantly illustrated in the prevailing forms of religion, language and social manners before they were engulfed by the advancing tide of Islam. Verily the history of Greater India would be lacking in some of its important chapters, if the story of India's cultural contact with its western neighbour were left untold."

The book should be read by every serious student of Hindu cultural expansion. It gives for the first time a faithful resume of the latest discoveries in the field made by the French and German scholars.

**A HISTORY OF HINDU POLITICAL THEORIES :** from the earliest times to the end of the seventeenth century A.D. By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M. A., Ph.D. Oxford University Press. Second Edition. 1927.

To all those who want a sober and fully documented study on Hindu political theories, the new edition of Dr. Ghoshal's book will be welcome. Within the narrow compass of 250 pages the author has managed to condense and criticise almost all the important texts and theories relating to Hindu political science, and the beginners in this line of study will find the book a faithful and stimulating guide. In every discussion Dr. Ghoshal shows a remarkable spirit of fairness and a laudable solicitude for ascertaining the tenor of the original texts. In weighing evidence he displays a largeness of outlook that is characteristic of a historian and he puts the orthodox and heterodox schools of thought on the same scale, assigning as much importance to Brahmanical as to Buddhist and Jain speculations. Moreover, Dr. Ghoshal traces the progress of Hindu political thought from the early classical to the mediaeval stage of its evolution as represented by the earlier *Niti* and *Smriti* texts, as well as in the *Dasabodh* and *Vichitra Nataka* of the epoch of Marhatta and Sikh revivals. Some of the appendices and his concluding chapter, breathing a spirit of comparative study and sound evaluation, go to make the book a precious guide in the jungle of partisan theorisings. We congratulate Dr. Ghoshal on the publication of this second edition and recommend the book to all lovers of Indology.

K. N.

**SEVEN MONTHS WITH MAHATMA GANDHI VOL. I :** By Krishnadas S. Ganesan, Triplicane, Madras, S. E. Pp. 449. 1928.

What Mahatma Gandhi is writing of himself in *Young India* week after week, can, by no means, be considered as the only materials with which one would build up a biography of his. The account of his examination of himself is bound to be inadequate for a biographer, for, it excludes many details and minor incidents of his life, which to a biographer is of essential value to paint a complete picture of his life. The book under notice portrays very nicely the daily life led by Mahatma Gandhi during the active days of the non-co-operation movement. Herein we find Mahatmaji in delight over his success some day, in extreme agonies over his failures, in the patience and endurance of a saint in the midst of overwhelming activities and in the purity and strength of a supremely spiritual mind. Mr. Krishnadas is a very keen observer and is fully aware of the possible curiosity of his readers. He leaves out no details as insignificant and paints Mahatmaji in his daily routine of life, in his habits and manners and in his friendly talks and humorous hits. This book will be of great help to a future biographer of Mahatma Gandhi. The book is so highly interesting that we have finished it with as much eagerness and pleasure as we do a good novel.

It is a history of the progress and development of the non-co-operation movement, as conducted by Mahatma Gandhi, the hero, the martyr and the saint.

The book is bound in Khaddar and its get-up is nice. It also contains a picture of Mahatma Gandhi.

P. SEN GUPTA.

## BENGALI

**NANA KATHA (Miscellaneous Essays) :** By Upen-  
dra Kumar Kar. B.L., Publisher—Sitantah  
Chowdhuri, Pleader, Chandpur. Tippera. Price  
Re. 1.

However unpretentious and uninviting this volume of Essays of a little over two hundred pages, printed in an unknown Mofussil press, may seem at first sight the reader will be delightfully surprised to find that the letter press contains few errors, the writer has a wonderful command over his mother-tongue which he can wield so dexterously as to express the most abstruse thoughts, and that the thoughts themselves are of a high order, far above the parochial topics of a Mofussil station, and even worthy of serious consideration by the best minds of the country, minds engaged in our well-known centres of culture in voicing the problems that vitally affect us and in making suggestions for their solution. That thinkers of such wide culture are to be found here and there in the remote provincial towns augurs well for the future of the country.

The collection of essays under review may be broadly divided into two groups, philosophical and literary. In both these groups the writer reveals a remarkably clear grasp of basic truths. His wide reading in the Vedanta and the Upanishads on the one hand, and the best poetry of modern Bengal on the other, and his power to apply the problems of philosophy and poetry to the facts of our moral and social life, mark him out as a practical thinker of no mean merit. Throughout



these essays he shows an intimate acquaintance with the causes of our social ills, the hide-bound customs and traditional usages which have choked our freedom of thought and acted as a barrier to further progress, but what distinguishes his writing is the undercurrent of spiritual emphasis which runs through all the essays, so that we rise from their perusal refreshed and purified in body and mind, and with the biblical query rising like a perpetual refrain in the innermost recesses of our mind: What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?

Where there is so much that is of a high order of excellence, one word of caution may be permitted. The author is above everything, sane and level-headed and yet on occasions we come across a faint note of indiscriminate admiration of the glorious traditions of India's past which, in the minds of the less thoughtful and less well read sections of the community, may easily be turned into an attitude of selfcomplacent inactivity, shutting the doors of the mind to every current of fresh air that blows from the bracing climate of the West. Michael Modhusudan Dutt's preference for Indrajit to Rama in his famous epic has been ably interpreted, but our author is not happy till he is able to say that by accepting Meghnad as his hero the poet was only accentuating our ancient Indian ideal. In his able exposition of Rammohan Roy's life and work the author says that the Raja regarded the Veda as infallible and as the revealed word of God. We doubt if this was actually so, \* and even if it were, it certainly called for a word of comment instead of being accepted with uncritical approval, for the writer himself observes that the Raja stood for all-round emancipation, which must include above everything, the emancipation of the mind. Again the writer is an ardent admirer of Ramkrishna, whom he calls *yugavatara* or the Messiah of the modern age, and refers to his great work of religious synthesis and his profound message "Each religion is true—as many beliefs as there are paths". Now the science of comparative religion is responsible for the discovery of the generalisation that there is truth in every religion, but it is a far cry from this to the other generalisation associated with the revered name of Ramkrishna that every religion is true. It is no doubt a fact that to a really earnest and devout seeker after God religious forms offer no insuperable barriers, and that the follower of every religion, by practising the highest lessons it preaches, may attain the *summum bonum*. But to characterise the facile tolerance which finds every religion to be true and makes no discrimination between the higher and the lower elements of which it is composed as a religious synthesis of supreme importance for the discovery of which the world had to await the advent of an *Avatar* is to lose sight of that sense of proportion which is so habitual with the author in everything else he writes. One would be bold indeed who could say that popular Hinduism, by absorbing all the cults and rituals of non-Aryan origin, has gained in worth in any real or vital sense. The writer has rightly enough, nothing but contempt for mere catchwords and shibboleths of Western origin.

\* Ram Mohun Roy did not believe in the infallibility of any scripture, Editor, M. R.

To be consistent, he should have the same contempt for catchwords of indigenous origin, and tread the middle path beloved of Lord Buddha, and pointed out in his *Heart of Aryavarta* by Lord Ronaldshay, whose activities on behalf of Indian philosophy the writer so admires, as the one which educated India should follow if she wants to make her own contribution to the civilization of the modern world.

We hope the present volume will be followed by other volumes of essays, replete with ripe wisdom, and revealing a deep culture and couched in language which the author knows how to make a worthy vehicle of his thoughts which the reader may peruse with equal pleasure and profit.

BOOK-LOVER

RAJA RAMMOHAN RAYER GRANTHABALI, PRATHAM KHANDA:—Published by Mr. H. C. Sarkar, M. A. Brahmo Samaj Centenary Committee. 210-6A, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

This is the first volume of the Bengali works of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, published on the occasion of the Centenary of the Brahmo Samaj. No student of Bengali literature can do without a perusal of Ram Mohun Roy's works. Those who wish to know all about the beginnings of the monotheistic movement and the social reform movement in India must also study his works. This first volume of his Bengali works contains the *Vedanta Grantha*, Sanskrit text and Bengali commentary; *Vedanta-Sara*, Sanskrit text and Bengali commentary; *Atmanatma-viveka* by Sankaracharya, Sanskrit text and Bengali commentary; the first chapter of *Vajrasuchi*, an ancient brochure by Mrityunjayacharya against caste, Sanskrit text and Bengali translation; and *Talavakara Upanishad*, Sanskrit text and Bengali rendering.

The volume is neatly printed on antique laid paper. The cloth binding with gilt letters is quite elegant.

R. C.

SRI SRI DURGA: By Umesh Chandra Chakrabarti. Published by Suresh Chandra Chakrabarti 31-1 Ghose's Lane, Calcutta. Price Two annas.

This illustrated booklet contains a compilation of Durga Stabas (prayers) written by eminent Bengali writers, viz. Bankim Chandra, Bharat Chandra and others. The author has also attempted to trace briefly the origin and development of the worship of Durga. This is a timely publication and we hope this little book will be widely read in Bengal.

P.

## SANSKRIT

THE NIGHANTU AND THE NIRUKTA—critically edited from original manuscripts: By Lakshman Sarup, M.A. (Panj.), D. Phil. (Oxon.). Sanskrit text with an appendix showing the relation of the Nirukta with other Sanskrit works. Pp. 39+292.

FRAGMENTS OF SKANDASVAMIN AND MAHESVARA ON THE NIRUKTA. Edited for the first time from



original palm leaf and paper mss. with an introduction and critical notes : *By Lakshman Sarup, M.A. (Panj.), D. Phil. (Oxon.). Pp. 15+139.*

It is full seventy-five years since the great pioneer scholar Rudolph von Roth first published the Nirukta of Yāska in Germany and now we have this, one of the most important works in the whole Sanskrit literature, in the edition of Dr. Lakshman Sarup. A single glance at these two editions is sufficient to tell how the science of Indology has progressed during this period. Dr. Sarup's is a work which we as Indians may well be proud of. It is the result of the collation of 37 manuscripts—it is difficult to imagine what a strenuous labour it means. Roth, on the other hand, had to depend merely on 7 manuscripts. During all this period many editions of the Nirukta have appeared; yet it is not exaggeration to say that they have all been replaced by the present fully scientific edition furnished with all important variants given but facultatively by Roth.

Apart from the not very few typographical blunders, from which this edition too unfortunately is not free, the chief defect in Roth's edition seems to be the lack of punctuation marks which renders the simple language of Yāska quite unintelligible in many places. The text in Dr. Sarup's edition is fully punctuated and the perusal of a few pages in the two editions side by side will convince every reader of the great improvement effected by Dr. Lakshman Sarup. This is the third volume of Dr. Sarup's works on the Nirukta. Instead of Roth's introduction which is a rambling disquisition about the Vedic literature—yet it must have been of great help in those days—we have now Dr. Sarup's valuable introductory volume; the texts have been already dealt with, and in the place of Roth's meagre "Erläuterungen" we have now a complete translation of the Nirukta. It is true that Yāska's Sanskrit is not very difficult to follow, yet Yāska has his own peculiarities just as Patanjali's apparent simplicity soon proves to be deceptive—and these peculiarities could not have been easily understood without the help of one who is fully acquainted with the mysteries of Vedic philology; this Dr. Sarup offers us through his valuable translation and notes.

In the first three volumes it may perhaps be said that Dr. Sarup has followed in the foot-steps of Roth; but in the fourth volume Dr. Sarup has given the lead. In this volume our author has published for the first time fragments of the commentary of Maheśvara-Skandasvāmin—the mysterious joint authors whose interrelation has very probably been rightly indicated by Dr. Sarup. It is interesting to note the summary way in which the author in his introduction has sent the commentator Ugra back to his pristine non-existence. This volume is also enriched by an appendix constituted by extracts from Skandasvāmin's work in Devarājayaivan's well known commentary on the Nighantu. We offer our heartiest congratulations to the learned editor and recommend his book to all students of Sanskrit philology and Vedic lore.

Sākāṭyana.

## HINDI

**HINDUSTHANI SANGIT PRAVESIKA—Parts I and II.** *By Mr. Murari Prasad, B. L., Advocate, High Court, Patna, Patna Law Report Press, Patna.*

The author has creditably supplied a great want and will be congratulated by all beginners of Hindusthani music. His primer is calculated to serve as a guide-book as regards both the theory and practice of music. The notations and their explanations are extremely helpful. The chapter on the various classes of Hindusthani music is informative.

**ANARKALI—By Umarao Sinha Karunik, B. A., Jnanprakas Mandir, Meerut.**

Translation of a Bengali story by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

**AKSHARA-TATTVA—By Mr. Gouri Shankar Bhatta, Maswanpur, Cawnpur.**

The 'geometrical' elements which go to the formation of the letters of the Devanagari alphabet are discussed and displayed with a number of diagrams.

**KUNTI DEVI—By Mr. Bhagawandas Kela, The Bharatiya-grantha-mala, Brindaban.**

The life sketch of a distinguished lady worker in the Prem Maha Vidyalay of Brindaban.

**PUNARVIVAHA VIDHANA—By Pandit Mata Sevak Pathak, Swadeshi Store, Sarsa, Dt. Allahabad.**

Remarriage of Hindu widows as approved of in the Sanskrit texts is the subject matter of this book. The author also repudiates early marriage.

RAMES BASU.

## MALAYALAM

**PULAKAMKURAM—By Nalappat Narayana Menon. Edited with introduction by C. P. Govinda Menon B. A. and L. T. Mangloodayam Press, Trichur. Pp. XXVI+51. Price as. 10.**

We had sometime ago the pleasure of commending in these pages, Mr. Nalappat Narayana Menon's beautiful poetical work entitled *Kannuirthulli*. Now we have before us another work of his, *Pulakamkuram*, containing ten short pieces of poetry, three of which are composed in the Sanskrit metres and the rest in the Dravidian. Some of the pieces written in the *Manjari* style in this little book have reminded us of certain songs of Tagore in the *Crescent Moon* and the *Gitanjali*. Mr. Nalappat's poems composed in the Sanskrit metres are equally elegant.

The printing and get-up of the book leave nothing to be desired. The lengthy remarks in the introduction regarding the poet's personal beauty, modesty and numerous other "qualities" might be felt as a burden by most of the readers!

**GIRI-PRAHASHANAM—By K. T. Lonappan. Bharatavilasam Press. Trichur. Price as. 4.**

This is a very faithful translation of the "Sermon on the Mount" composed in the *Manjari* style. We congratulate the young poet on his venture.

**SWATANTRYA-MARGAM : By K. Velayudha Menon. Sahadara Press, Cochin. Pp. 78. Price as. 12.**



This is one of the very few books in Malayalam which deal in detail with the conditions of labourers in India giving full and up-to-date statistics. Though one may not agree with the views of the author in all respects, the book as it is deserves very careful study. It contains also statements which are inaccurate; for instance, on page 49, in the chapter on exploitation the average income of an Indian is recorded as 1 anna 6 pies *per year*. We hope this and other inaccuracies will not be overlooked in the next edition. The book is well got-up.

A TREATISE ON TEXTILE INDUSTRIES—By C. Swaminath, L. T. M. (Bom.) Head Master, Govt. Industrial School, Cochin State. Published with the sanction of the Director of Public Instruction, Ramanuja Printing House Ltd. Trichur Pp. 212. Price Rs. 1-4-0.

We congratulate the author on his excellent production. There is no doubt that the book with the numerous illustrations it contains will be of great help to students who take up to weaving industry. We wish the author could have, however chosen a Malayalam title to his book which is written in Malayalam!

P. ANUJAN ACHAN

## MARATHI

DR. SIR R. G. BHANDARKAR (a biography): By S. N. Karnataki, published by the author at 249 Raste Peth, Poona. Pages 438. Price Rs. 2-8.

The late Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was a scholar of world-wide reputation. A keen intellect, a large heart, strong convictions, as well as his deep faith and unimpeachable character have left a deep impression on thousands of his pupils and others who were fortunate to come into contact with him. Mr. D. G. Vaidya of the *Subodha Patrika* has already given us a true picture of the religious side of Bhandarkar's life. But a biography dealing with all its aspects was badly needed, and that want is in a great measure supplied by Mr. Karnataki's book, which is thoroughly well-written and thoroughly interesting. One draw-back, however, must be mentioned here. It is the want of an Index, a want common to a very large number of Marathi books.

BHARATWARSHIYA PRACHEEN AITHASIK KOSH OR DICTIONARY OF INDIAN ANTIQUITIES: By the late Raghunath Bhaskar Godbole. Published by the Chitrashala Press, Poona. Pages 448. Price Rs. Three.

This is a mere reprint of the work published in 1876, when researches in Indian history had scarcely begun and the task of identification of countries, cities, mountains, rivers, etc., mentioned in old Sanskrit works was an extremely hard one. But no such excuse can be pleaded in these days, when the combined efforts of Western and Indian scholars have made available immense materials for such identification. For instance, now to say merely that who caught is a name of a province in India will hardly enrich the store of one's knowledge. It ought to be stated that it is the ancient name of the province which in later times came to be known as Magadha and now bears the title of Bihar. With this serious defect running throughout the

work, the dictionary surely supplies a want which was being keenly felt for nearly a quarter of a century.

VIDYUT-SWAVALAMBANA—or self-help in Electricity by G. K. Date. Published at Vidyut Karyalaya, Magadha, Bombay. Price as. six.

This brochure of 34 pages gives very useful hints to householders, who desire to have installed electric lights to illuminate their houses. The book is profusely illustrated.

V. G. APTE.

## ORIYA

The Ganjam Store of Berhampore (GANJAM) has recently published a good number of good books. CHANAKYA, one of the series of the Promode Bharati Granthamala by Iswar Saha is a book of about 250 pages. It is both illustrated and elaborated. The style is in keeping with the subject, virile and somewhat *Sanskritic*. The last annexure giving the code of morals of Chanaka is valuable for the reader to understand the historical situation of the country at that remote period and the policy necessitated by it. It is a splendid book.

BEER BHARAT (12 annas): By Basudeb Mahapatra one of the life-workers of the Satyabadi school of late Gopabandhu Das. Basu Babu is an acknowledged virile Oriya prose writer and nothing remains to be said against the subjects or style chosen by him. The various subjects such as Panna, Prithwiraj, Kusumkumari, Chanda's promise, etc., etc. will no doubt inspire youthful reader.

NABA GITIKA OR NEW SONGS. It is a collection of national and devotional songs collected by Sarathi Sahu. Price twelve annas. Contains 156 pages.

HINDU RAMANI, (a drama): By Sri Aswinikumar Ghosh M. A. one Rupee).

Aswini Babu is a drama-writer of long standing and great fame. He has caught the staging side of the play very well. His pictures are, however, a little overdrawn. The style is moving and simple. But one defect in all his dramas is that he has freely introduced Bengali phrases into Oriya language. This should be guarded against, in future.

SUBHADRA By Dayanidhi Mishra B. A., L. T. (12 annas in prose, pp. 137).

Dayanidhi Babu is a well-known writer of old historical characters. He excels in delineating the characters he handles. The illustrations are not bad.

The Oriya Sahitya Prachar Sangha which is popularising lives of eminent people of India and outside has also been at times publishing books like PRABANDHA PRAKASH that is before us. The author, Professor Ratnakar Pati, M. A. of the Ravenshaw College is a Professor of philosophy. The essays he has written were written at different times as magazine articles. Philosophy has been naturally woven into his writings. The style is rather involved. The essays are thoughtfully written but the ideas do not grip the mind, they are not so clear. The subjects chosen are also responsible for the style and thought to some extent.



*The Utkal Sahitya Samaj* has published a kavva called *RASALAHARI* (price 12 annas) written by Maharaja Raghurath Bhanj of Mayurbhanj (1728-1750) in the old style of *Chhanda* and *Raga*. Page 138. The beginning is rather done with much effort, the latter *chhandas* are rather unaffected. There is no peculiar merit in this book except that historically it has a place as it comes after Upendra Bhanja and from the pen of a Raja. The preface written to this book by Srijut Sashibhusan Ray, Secretary of the Utkal Sahitya Samaj, is worth reading.

*ANTAR LIFE: By Samanta Sri Narasingha Pattanayak.*

The book contains talk between the lover and the loved (Nayak and Nayika). Each poem again supplies the main thought of that poem from the first letters of each line. As an artistic piece, the poems deserve some credit.

*PILA GITA: By Bidyadhar Mahanti.*

A small book of poems meant for recital by children. Some of the sentiments are nice. Price six pice.

*AME JANE: By Bidyadhar Mahanti.*

It contains some satirical and ironical poems, in no way inferior to D. L. Roy's in *Kalki Abatar*. Price two annas.

L. N. SAHU.

## GUJARATI

*NEW BAL POTH: By Kanji Kahdai Joshi.*

This is a text book for little children who are beginners in education. It is designed by an experienced teacher.

*RUBAIYAT-E-OMAR KHAYYAM: By D. N. Patel. Printed at the Allen Press, Bombay. Paper cover, pp. 25. (1927).*

This is a translation in Gujarati of the Quatrains of Omar Khayyam, as that peculiar vogue of versification called *Betbaji* which distinguished Parsi writers of the old school.

*A CLARION CALL TO CASTES (Jnatiene Padkar): By Nanji Lalji Parmar. Printed at the Dharma Vijaya Sloan Printing Press, Limbdi. Cloth bound, Pp. 128. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1927).*

The writer wants to preserve castes and not uproot them. With that view he has written this book in which he offers suggestions in animated and feeling language as to how to destroy those evils which have crept in and made them engines of oppressions instead of means of happiness.

*A FEW SCATTERED FLOWERS: By Jayendrarao Bhag Vaneal Durkal, M.A. Printed at the Jnan Mandir Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, Pp. 194. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1927).*

The author is the Professor of Gujarati and English Literature in the Arts College at Surat, and has naturally to do a lot of thinking and observation. The result of both the processes is this book, which is a collection of his original writings on various literary and social subjects. They are all well presented and would repay exertions.

*AKHO (a play): By Chandravadan C. Mehta, B.A. The life of this gold-smith metaphysician and poet of mediaeval Gujarat was never dramatised before. That has now been effectively done*

and the play successfully staged through the fashion of the author.

*TWO AKHYANS: By Gajendrasankar L. Pandya, M.A., B.T. Lecturer, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 155. Price Re. 0-14-0. (1927).*

Vallabh, a well-known poet of Gujarat was distinguished as a "Thunderer". Mr. Pandya has a soft corner for him and has written out a play with him as his hero and called it Vallabh-Garjanakhyan. The other Akhyan is called Gurjari Prasanakhyan, and is written in the vogue of old Gujarati writers. They are both readable performances. K. M. J.

## URDU

*ZIKR-E-MIR (Persian). With a Foreward by Maulvi Abdul Haque. B. A. Pp. 153+XX. Price Rs. 2. Publisher Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Aurangabad Deccan.*

Mir Taqi Mir is the acknowledged father of Urdu poetry. This is his auto-biography written in an admirable style, and published for the first time after an oblivion of a century, and a half with a very able and interesting foreword by Maulvi Abdul Haque. Copious foot-notes and a detailed table of contents are useful additions.

*HAMARI SHACRI By Syed Masud Hasan M. A. Lecturer Lucknow University. Pp. VIII+60+124. Price Re 1. Publisher—Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Aurangabad, Deccan.*

The book may fittingly be described as an apology for Urdu poetry. Urdu poets and poetry have long been a target of ugly criticism and ridicule by the "western educated" Indians. A number of changes has been brought against Urdu poetry under the following main heads,—that it is unnatural, that it is immoral, and that it is narrow and barren, and the whole of it has been condemned outright. The author takes all such changes one by one and with a masterly analysis worthy of an eminent lawyer ruthlessly exposes the hollowness of these silly changes and smashes them once for all each and every one of them. His reasoning is sound throughout and his style is simply entertaining. Not a trace of bitterness, and yet his exposure of his opponents is merciless. His discourses on the nature of poetry, the proper value of poetry and the merits of Urdu poetry as distinguished from those of English poetry are illuminating. The author has done a distinct service to the Oriental literature and has admirably filled a long-felt want. The book supplements at a very opportune moment the great Hali's great *Muqaddama* and no one interested in Urdu or Oriental literature ought to miss reading it.

*NABUTAT AUR NABATI KHOOREK: By Mr. Mohan Lal Sethi M. Sc. Lecturer Botany, Govt. College Lahore. Pp. 304. Illustrated. Price not given. Publisher: The Punjab Central Publishing House, Lahore.*

An interesting treatise written in a simple style and as far non-technical as possible on plant life. His chapters on the evidences of plant life, seeds, fruits, flowers, manures, vegetables, vitamins, bacteria diseases of plants &c. Contains useful information about agriculture and horticulture. Can be used as a good hand book both by the student and the layman. A. M.



# "MOTHER INDIA OR FATHER INDIA?"

A GERMAN CRITICISM ON MISS MAYO'S BOOK

Translation with Note by S. P. RAJU, B. A., B. E., A. M. I. E.

[Note. Under the title "*Mutter Indien—oder Vater Indien?*" (Mother India or Father India?) has appeared a criticism of Miss Mayo's Book in some German papers, a translation of which I am giving below, as it would be of interest to readers in India, especially in view of the alleged attempt of the authoress to bring out a German edition of her book. The article has been published among other papers in the Literary Supplement of the "*Reichspost*" in Vienna, and the "*Ostasiatische Rundschau*" (East Asiatic Review, in Hamburg. The latter is a periodical published in combination by the "*Verband für den Fernen Osten*" (Union for the Far East) in Berlin, "*Ostasiatischer Verein Hamburg-Bremen*" (East Asiatic Association Hamburg-Bremen) in Hamburg, and the "*Deutsch-Ostasiatischer Klub*" (German-East Asiatic Club) in Leipzig; associations that interest themselves among other things with the cultural problems of the East, and as such supposed to give a lead to the intelligent public opinion in the country in matters pertaining to the Orient.

The writer of the article, Prof. Dr. J. B. Aufhauser, is a German Professor of Philosophy and Comparative Religion in the University of Munich, who toured in most parts of India last winter, visiting the Poet Tagore and his School in Shantiniketan. This year also he has already left Germany for Sumatra, Java, Australia, etc., and circumstances permitting, he hopes to acquaint himself with the other parts of India, that he could not see in his last journey.]

## TRANSLATION

It was evening in the middle of November after a fearful tropical thunderstorm, as I waited in the Refreshment Room of Madura Railway Station (South India) for the night train to Trichinopoly, when two Indians of high caste joined me, and very soon we fell into a lively conversation about the situation in India from the European and the Indian points of view. "What do you think of that

book, 'Mother India,' by Miss Katherine Mayo?" asked one of them, a distinguished advocate of the city. At that time I did not know of the publication of this book, and had the contents related to me. I could quite understand that both the gentlemen, one a Hindu lawyer and the other a Christian (Protestant) were greatly excited about it. At the earliest opportunity I bought a copy of the American illustrated edition of the book. The edition circulated in India, as I was told, represented a certain amount of toning down in many places. In view of the great interest that many sections of the German cultured Society take in Indian affairs in relation to the evolution of world politics of the present day, a short description of the nature of "Mother India" may perhaps be desirable.

In one word: Miss Mayo's work is a book with a politico-cultural purpose. Based on a painting of the land in the darkest possible colours, the proof is said to be made out, that India, i.e. its peoples and its tribes, on account of the cultural, sanitary, social and economical conditions of the land, are not in the least ripe for self-government, nay more, on account of the hygienic disparities form a sort of world-danger, against which perhaps even the League of Nations had to be invoked. The authoress, at whose disposal the India Office in London, and the official Anglo-Indian offices in India placed their materials, was warned by these offices not to generalise from special observations (Cf. Page 13). But she did not unfortunately stick to this well-meant advice. Some of her own personal observations during a winter sojourn of five months from North India up to Madras (1925-26), communications and opinions from official or friendly British or Anglo-Indian side, utterances of leading Indians taken out of their context\*, or facts collected from newspaper articles, in hospitals or law-courts, make the American lady-tourist draw a one-sided,

\*Among others Gandhi and Tagore also protest against the distortion of their statements.



dark and therefore an untrue and unjust picture of the Indian people, their civilisation, their spiritual culture and their social and economic conditions. True, many of the evils censured in the book are facts, and were known for a long time; and this book brings hardly any new observations. Only never before were they described in such a wickedly generalized way, as if it were meant to be a public showing up of a whole people in glaring colours by a mountebank with so much of journalistic advertisement for wide circulation. Sometimes one asks one's self involuntarily, "How is it then at all possible, that this nation, i.e., the Indian races, represented as physically degenerate, morally depraved and economically unproductive, could for 5000 years continually keep itself vigorous, especially when in addition to this such bad sanitary conditions prevail?" Miss Mayo has unfortunately failed to get into personal touch with the actual reformers, or the Social Reform Associations of Indian men and women, or with Societies, which long before she herself went there, have been insisting upon the removal of those social and sanitary evils. Even today educated Indians admit that much of what is said in the book is founded upon facts. But gross exaggeration and generalization paint these things in an unheard of fashion, and distort the whole of Indian culture into something coarse. In the whole of the book there is practically no word said, that is favourable to the Indian people. The picture drawn by it shows only the dark side and not the bright. The dedication "To the People of India" (See Book) is supposed to indicate that a "sincere friend" wishes to do something good to the country. But in reality is this people with its ancient culture only calumniated and degraded indiscriminately in the eyes of the English and American reading public. But educated leaders of India like Gandhi among others, above all ill-temper and ill-will, hold this book before their people today as a mirror of their practices for the improvement of many social and hygienic shortcomings.

The book deals with the actual problems that are at present greatly discussed by the social reformers in India: the child and early marriages (e. g. the Census of 1911 showed 9,077,627 married and 335,015 widowed girls from 0 to 15 years of age, and in ages from 10 to 15 years 13 p. c. of the boys and 40 p. c. of the girls, and in

ages from 15 to 20 years 32 p. c. of young men and 80 p. c. of young women married), the problem of the widows (the Census of 1921 numbered 26,834,838 widows out of a total female population of about 152.6 millions) with all their alleged suffering, the impossibility of remarriage in orthodox circles, maternity in India with its grave hygienic evils, the life of the woman in zenana, the strictly closed apartments of women, temple prostitution in the provinces of Madras and Orissa, the question of caste, especially the lot of the 60 million despised out-castes (Panchamas). In addition to these cultural questions are discussed also the economic problems: e. g., the unprofitableness of Indian cattle-breeding (out of 146,055,859 oxen and sacred cows about 50 p. c. are agriculturally unprofitable), the exploitation of land by cotton, wheat and tea culture, industrial and money problems, the national movement, the exploitation of the land by English industrial concerns through railway and other undertakings under English hands, the English army of occupation and civil service, relation between Hindus and Mohammedans, Pax Britannica, Anglo-Indian Reforms, and finally sanitary and health problems; epidemics like malaria, plague, cholera, smallpox as a kind of world danger, especially on account of the unhealthy conditions in the sacred rivers, wells and ponds, when they are visited by hundreds of thousands of pilgrims; sacred cities like Benares have only primitive drainage systems, and so on.

To the reader to whom in the beginning (page 13) is given the picture of young consumptive Indian students pouring over bolshevistic literature and gruesome repellent religious practices in Kali Temple in Calcutta, it remains quite a puzzle, how a people so degenerated, and physically and morally so sunk as Miss Mayo has described here (pages 16f, 24f, 56ff, 102ff, 201ff, etc) could live for hundreds, nay, thousands of years under such primitive hygienic conditions, and revive themselves again and again. Whoever accepts uncritically the picture given here, will, on account of the sanitary and economical conditions prevailing apparently as the effect of partial autonomy already granted to the Provinces, refuse an extension of the self-government demanded by the Indians. India is, so Miss Mayo wishes to prove, not in the least ripe at present for self-government.

Certainly he who travels in India without



taking the trouble to enter into the Indian mind and into Indian conditions without any prejudice at least, if not with sympathy, lacks the necessary independent view for an impartial judgment. He who looks at Indian conditions with European and American standards will and must judge harshly and unjustly. In spite of many failings the mixed variety of Indian life appears on real examination to have advantage in many respects over the attempt at making the world uniform, that is so much yearned for by the American lady tourist. Take the life of the Indian woman itself. For millions today is Sita the ideal wife, who has given herself up to her husband in indissoluble marriage and devoted loyalty. What a sharp contrast to it are the matrimonial confusions of America and Europe! The inexhaustible physical fertility of Indians makes us always wonder how the people there without the development of modern hygiene, without modern education, and without woman's emancipation have for thousands of years revived themselves and not lost their vitality in their struggle for existence. The selection of nature has certainly demanded the early death of many new born ones and weaklings, but has always given the survivors fresh vitality.

An enormous number of protests have been raised against Miss Mayo's book in the Indian newspapers and periodicals of all kinds and shades of opinion, not only from Indian communities but also from leading

individuals. It was not at all difficult in one reply\* to emphasize that even the writers of the Far-East after travelling in the West could paint a dark picture of the European and American state of affairs. The author of the rejoinder throws light on the above-mentioned problems from the Indian point of view, and gives for comparison effective illumination of and parallel information about American conditions based on a statements made by qualified Americans themselves. From the descriptions given there Miss Mayo will feel at any rate that she has been paid back in her own coin.

From the point of view of cultural exchange between the East and the West, or the bridging of the differences, or even the influencing of India through the Christian religion of the West, Miss Mayo's book is still more regrettable. She increases the aversion of Indians, already strong enough as it is, against the efforts of Christianity to displace or reform their own ancient Hindu religion, which offers wide scope for every religious sentiment. It is probable that the American missionaries in the first place may experience a certain amount of passive resistance. Sometimes at any rate during my visits to temples or sacred places the indignation of the Brahmans against Miss Mayo's descriptions was expressed to me. Injustice whether against an individual or a nation always produces bitterness.

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\* C. S. Ranga Iyer, Father India, a reply to 'Mother India'.

## RAM MOHUN ROY, THE DEVOTEE

By PROF. DHIRENDRANATH CHOWDHURI, VEDANTAVAGIS

MANY brochures and booklets are published, lectures, and addresses delivered every year on Raja Ram Mohun Roy depicting him as a great man, a versatile genius—a pioneer and tribune, a patriarch, a rishi and prophet, a universal man, nay, even a hierophant moralising from the Eiffel-tower of the world's progress on the far-reaching vistas of human civilization. All this is very true, not a single epithet is misapplied to Ram Mohun. But they do

not indicate the source from which his greatness springs. The source is Ram Mohun's *Brahmo Sadhana*. Above all, the Raja was a *sadhaka*, a Bhakta, a Psalmist. The Raja appears different from all Sadhakas, so called, not because he was less a Sadhaka, but because he refused to cut himself off from all human interests as has been the wont of the "Sadhakas" all over the world in all times, our own not excluded. The Raja was cast in nature's regal mould not



only spiritually but physically also. His personality was not deficient in the emotional element; but his physical frame was immune to all attacks hysteric natures are liable to. It is because of this that Ram Mohun as a *tapaswin* does not so much impress the popular mind. Moreover, his earlier preparatory stages are never brought out in the ordinary delineation of the Raja's career.

In his early life the Raja was eager to adopt *sannyasa* from taking which step he was prevented by his mother. In his early boyhood he prepared bricks with the mystic syllable (*om*) imprinted on them and built a *vedi* (platform) with them on which he sat hours together in practising spiritual exercises. The austerities he had practised before he hurled himself headlong into the Titanic activities of the modern life will compare not unfavourably with those of the reputed *sadhaks* of old. Ram Mohun denied himself the luxury of the reputation of a medieval saint, though his *sadhana* was none the less exacting. This peer of Bentham and Voltaires was also the associate of *Rishis* and *Tapasvis*. His Biographers inform us that the Raja performed *purashcharana* not once or twice, but twenty-two times, while a single performance means practice of austerity of the severest type for months together. *Purashcharanas*, as enjoined in the puranas and tantras, are of different kinds. Ram Mohun, who later in life severely condemned some phases of tantric worship and described them as "horrible tantric practices", himself began as a tantric *Brahmajnani*. And it could not have been otherwise. In those days if *Brahmasadhan* was to be met with among any people in Bengal, it was surely among certain sects of *tantrikas*. And he tactfully managed to bring down Hariharananda Tirthaswami from Benares to be initiated by him. It may be presumed that Ram Mohun began with the pauranic form, as his family on the father's side belonged to the Vaishnava fold. But gradually he transferred his allegiance to the tantric cult. So far as the central idea is concerned, there is very little difference to be noticed among the *sastras*, differences arise as they go into details. The main point in a *purashcharana* is to take a *mantra* the name of a God or an attribute of God for mental repetition and to concentrate the mind on the name in such a way that at every repetition the thing connoted by the name may be perceived as

present. If there is no perception, no mere recollection of the name is ceremonially valid. And one invalid recollection will mar the whole performance.

The devotee must rise early, and, taking his seat as the sun rises, he must go on mentally repeating the *mantra* in this way till the sun reaches the zenith. During this whole period he must not allow his attention to be diverted to anything else. If he does, the whole thing is marred and counts for nothing. He is to begin anew. Until the whole course is finished, the devotee is required to observe twelve austerities, prominent among them being the vow of silence, sleeping on the ground without a bed and *Brahmacharya* properly so called. In this way he will have to complete the prescribed number of the repetition of the name. And the prescribed number is ten, twenty or thirty thousand, culminating in thirty-two thousand of the Mahanirvan Tantra, which dispenses with the restriction of time and place as well as of eating and drinking but promises immediate deliverance.

Anti-idolatrous monotheist as he was, Ram Mohun could not take kindly to the Bengal Vaishnava cult. But his sympathies were all with the Sufis, in whom is found the synthesis of the Theosophy of the Upanishads and the ecstatic Bhakti of the Vaisnavas. Ram Mohun found strange corroboration of the *purashcharana* from them. Such a practice was in vogue among them with all its paraphernalia—repetition of the name, austerities, and all. The name is to be repeated till the word ceases to be uttered and thought comes to a standstill. This is called *Dhakar* among the Sufis. However, this repeated performance of *purashcharana*, and Ram Mohun did this twenty-two times, requiring a high degree of concentration of mind on a single point, technically called *abhyasa*, helped Ram Mohun in no small degree to prepare for *Atmasakshatkar* and *Brahma-samadhi*, in which, later in life, the Raja would be frequently found absorbed, all his distractions notwithstanding. Lesser minds retire from the world, thereby drawing the eyes of all on them, in order to be able to engage themselves in devotions, but Ram Mohun found room for *Samadhi* even in the midst of multifarious distractions of a supremely active life. For the Raja *Samadhi* is not an abnormal physiological change of the body that can be effected at will, not unconsciousness generated as in sound sleep but the highly



spiritual culture of perceiving Brahman in all and the habit of surrendering the self to the higher Self. *Atmasakshatkar* to him was not to deny the existence of the world and turn a deaf ear to the claims of humanity as illusion, but to perceive God in every bit of preception, in the *prapancha*. He could attain *Brahmi-Stithi* as soon as he desired it. It was not necessary for him to retire to the wilderness for the purpose. This fact, so challenging in the life of the Raja, is explicable only on the supposition that Ram Mohun was pre-eminently a *Sadhaka*. And the best that all these *Sadhanas* gave to his mind he retained to the end of his life. He never meant to die in harness, but entertained the fond hope that, after all his feverish activities had ceased, he would

retire from public life with Hafez and Rumi for his companions. This is most significant. A Vedantist in every pulse of his being, Ram Mohun failed not to perceive that the Upanishads were not sufficient to satisfy the Bhakti hankerings of the soul, nor was he able to side with the Bhakti cult of Bengal, as we have already pointed out. But the needs of Bhakti would be met by the Sufis, as he hoped. That hope was not to be realised in this mundane existence. He departed this life before his desire was fulfilled. But by the endeavours after the life spiritual as it was permitted him to undergo and realise in his individual experience, he has left us pregnant hints for the cultivation of that mystic life of the soul which for a hundred years the Brahma Samaj has sought and striven after.

## Leaves of India

Ever since the holding of the first Exhibition of Modern Indian Painters in Paris in 1911 the French people are exploring the different departments of cultural activities on contemporary India. From Painting to Literature was a natural transition in this spirit of discovery innate in the French mind. Rabindranath Tagore through the transition of his *Gitanjali* by the famous French Poet Andre Gide, opened a new channel of aesthetic realisation and his actual visit to France intensified this movement of Franco-Indian *rapprochement*. A group of his admirers gathered round him in Paris during his second visit in 1920 and started a most fruitful line of collaboration. The Society of the Friends of the Orient (*Amis de l'Orient*), housed in their famous Oriental Museum of Paris, *Musee Guimet*, the Publishing House of Bossard, and the group of Pacifists and Internationalists led by the great French writer Romain Rolland, all helped, each in its own way to create a genuine interest in India of today. Andree Karpeles is a notable figure in this group and her ardent artistic sympathy forced her to visit India and spend sometime in Santiniketan. That direct contact with the creative artists of modern India, made her discover the fact that India was not simply a dead specimen in the museum of Past history but a living growing creative entity. She started publishing a series of delightful books on the art, myths and legends of India and Ceylon in the Bossard series and when she found a worthy partner of her life in Mr. Hogman who shared her ideals and aspirations, the husband and wife started a series named *Chitra Publications* of which *India and her Soul* is the first volume. With touching devotion she has decorated it with 40 of her exquisite wood carvings, and the book is printed with as much taste as it is prepared with rare judgment in selection. Opening with a short yet profound message from Mahatma Gandhi the book shows in succession

a series of papers, poems, songs, short-stories etc., that will certainly open the eyes of many Europeans as to the creative output of India's men and women. Rabindranath's "An Eastern University" and "The Meaning of Art" is followed by Sir J. C. Bose's "Unity of Life's Mechanism," and Abanindranath Tagore's delightful study on the "Chanch" designs of Bengal. There is a series of interesting papers by Arthur Geddes on the songs of Tagore (some with notations transcribed by the author while in Santiniketan). The famous novel *Srikanta* of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee finds an honoured place, with a remarkable descriptive passage translated by that passionate friend of Indian lore and life—Madeleine Rolland, the talented sister of Romain Rolland. She had further contributed a wonderfully faithful and brilliant translation of Santa Devi's "Ugly Bride" which even in the French garb looks as fresh as the Bengali original. Women writers and thinkers find a good place in this anthology of Indian thought. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sarala Devi, Indira Devi, Anindita Devi, and others form a brilliant group not forgetting Sister Nivedita of holy memory who gave her all to Mother India revealed to her by her master Vivekananda. Of art critics Havell and Coomaraswamy are represented by short yet pregnant papers and there is a thoughtful and informing essay by Mr. K. M. Panikkar on the "Religious Movements of Medieval India."

When we consider that all these fragments had to be artistically rendered into French before being published—we cannot but be grateful to these far off Friends of India in France, who are devoting so much of their time and energy to vindicate the claims of the Indian people in the family (if not in the League) of Nations. We accord our best thanks to the organiser of this work and recommend the book to all interested in Indian culture and oriental renaissance.

K. N.





### Rabindranath's Message

*The Star* official organ of the Order of the Star prints the facsimile of a message from Rabindranath:

Thy heart goes out to all those of whatever faith who are eagerly waiting for the dawn of a new age amid the darkness that overhangs the world of humanity today. Therefore, I send my greetings across the dark to those who have gathered to welcome the light.

Madras

Rabindranath Tagore

May 18

1928

### Rabindranath on Baul Songs

Rabindranath contributes at illuminating Introduction to a collection of Baul songs by Md. Mansuruddin, which has been published in the July issue of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*. The poet begins by saying.

I still remember how, when I was young, I first heard a Baul, from the countryside near about Shelidah, singing in Calcutta to the accompaniment of his one-stringed instrument (the *ektara*):

Ah, where am I to find Him,  
the Man of my heart?

Alas, since I lost Him.

I wander in search of Him  
thro' lands near and far.

The words are very simple, but, lit up by the tune, their meaning was revealed to me with a clarity unfelt before. The same message was declared of old in the words of the Upanishad:

Tam vedyam purusham veda,  
Ma vo mrityuh parivyathah.

Seek thou to know Him who is to be known,  
else shall the agony of death be thine.

I then heard afresh, from one devoid of all learning, in his naive words, to his rustic tune that same message: *He who is above all to be known, above all is the sorrow of knowing Him not.* In the voice of this Baul was the cry of a child that in the darkness cannot see its mother. When the *antaratara yadayomatma* (the innermost Spirit of our being) of the Upanishads found utterance in his words as *the Man of the heart*, it came on me with a shock of glad surprise.

Long afterwards, I have come across, in Khitimohan Sen's priceless collection, wonderful Baul songs which, in the simplicity of their words, the depth of their thoughts, the penetrating poignancy of their tunes, are beyond compare as

a blend of wisdom, poetry and devotion. I doubt whether the folk-lore of any other part of the world can yield anything so unique.

Then he traces the causes of antagonism between the Moslem foreigners and the people of the country.

The Moslem foreigners, who came sword in hand, made it difficult for the people of the country to commingle with them. The primary antagonism was due to property, inasmuch as it was concerned with rival claims to the ownership or enjoyment of the country's wealth. This is inevitable when the ruler of a country is a foreigner. During Moslem rule, however, this was gradually decreasing, because the conquerors had adopted the country as their own, and consequently, in the matter of its enjoyment had become co-partners with us. Moreover, the greater part of the Musalman population of Bengal being Moslem only by religion, but Hindu by blood, they could claim an equal moral right to such partnership.

But amidst these differences and antagonisms arose great souls from amongst both communities.

Much more bitter was the antagonism, due to differences of religious creed and observance, that still remained. Nevertheless, from the very beginning of Moslem domination, great souls arose from amongst both communities who by their life and their teaching endeavoured to reconcile these differences. The more difficult appeared the problem, the more wonderful was the way they rose superior to it; for thus does God evoke the best in man by the rigour of the ordeal. We have repeatedly witnessed the manifestation of the Highest through successive periods of India's history, and we may surely hope that its working has not yet come to an end.

In the souls where the divergent streams of Hinduism and Islam found their confluence, there were formed permanent centres of pilgrimage for the Indian mind. These sacred centres are not limited by space or time, but are established in the everlasting. Such pilgrimages are to be found in the lives of Ramananda, Kabir, Dadu, Ravidas, Nanak and so many others. In them all differences and antagonisms, all the multitudinous clashes of variety, are found resolved in their united acclamations of the victory of the One.

Those of our countrymen who take pride in their modern education, are busy in search of devices for the bringing together of Hindu and Moslem; for they have learnt their history lessons in a foreign school. The real history of our country has, however, always borne its message of unity in the deepest Truth lying in the inmost



recess of its heart, not in any vehicle of expediency or necessity. Among the Bauls we see the fruit of such endeavour, in a culture that was alike Hindu and Musalman,—in which they came together, but did not hurt each other. This union of theirs did not give rise to platforms of public speech-making, but evoked songs of untutored sweetness in language and melody. In such uniting of the voices of Hindu and Moslem, there was no discord between Koran and Puran. In that union was manifest the true Spirit of India,—not in the barbarism of the latter-day communal rivalry. In the Baul songs we may see how, outside the ken of the modern schoolmaster or college professor, the inspiration of India's higher culture was at work, clearing a common ground on which both Hindu and Moslem could take their stand.

That is why I appreciate so highly the work that is being done by Md. Mansuruddin in gathering and publishing these songs,—not for their literary excellence, but in the hope that in them we may gain glimpses of the way in which the better mind of humanity has striven to express itself through the despised masses of our motherland.

### The Jaipur Administration

*The Feudatory and Zemindari India* for August enumerates the following amongst others' grievances of the Jaipur State subjects.

The most important grievance is increasing cost of administration due to modernising process and importation of *Ghair Mulkis* into the civil service of the State. The people however do not seem to have reconciled themselves to the present minority administration there. At any rate we are obliged to infer that there is something wrong in the State as an open letter is addressed to the Viceroy on behalf of the citizens of Jaipur. It is stated that the real wants of the people have been ignored that the State subjects have not been given their due share in the administration and that the different departments have been made top-heavy with imported Officers.

### New Constitution for Ceylon

In the course of an informative article in *the Indian Review* for August Mr. St. Nihal Sing sketches some of the main features of the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission as follows:

In four respects, the recommendations made by the Commission presided over by the Earl of Donoughmore for the reform of the Ceylon Constitution are epoch-making in the British Orient.

Firstly, they recognize that the possession of the franchise by certain communities upon a religious or racial basis is vicious in principle and disruptive in effect; and must therefore, be abolished.

Secondly, they abandon that supercilious attitude

which inclines many Britons and other Westerners to look upon the unlettered millions of the East as ignorant and, therefore, unqualified to discharge any political function, and have refrained from imposing any literacy test.

Thirdly, they have risen superior to the prejudice that actuates certain constitution-makers to limit the exercise of the franchise to persons possessing a certain minimum of income of property; and have asked for the abolition of all such qualifications prescribed by the Order-in-Council at present in operation.

Fourthly, they have not tried to evade the responsibility of deciding the question of granting the franchise to women. Counsels of timidity have so far prevailed in that respect among those Britons who were assigned the task of reforming the constitutions of the Oriental units of the British Empire; and they have, without a single exception, followed the line of least resistance, and left the issue to be settled by Orientals, to whom, however, they refused to allot self determination in any other sphere.

### Indian Education

Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri apprehends in *the Indian Educator* for August that India's vitality of racial and cultural life is threatened from without and from within. If Indian Education is to be a successful defender of Indian culture, he says:

Our schools and colleges and universities must be in rural surroundings. Only then will there spring into existence again intensive thought and simple life in pure and lawful union. India has to remain largely an agricultural nation served by cottage industries and decorated by handicrafts and arts. Such higher culture must be based on *Bramacharya*. It must be through the medium of our languages. It must at the same time be modern and national. It must enable us to realise how India is the Karma Bhumi, the Bhoga Bhumi, and Punya Bhumi. Our boys and girls must be trained and taught to become modern without losing Indianness and to retain and glory in their Indianness without falling back in the modern race for wealth and power and glory.

### Agricultural Research in Universities

Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta, M.A., D.L., criticises the different aspects of the voluminous Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture in the July-September issue of *the Bengal Co-operative Journal*. With regard to agricultural research and instruction in our Universities the writer observes.

The Commission observe that very little attention has been paid by the Universities to agricultural research and instruction. They have not investigated the fact any further. If they



had, they would have found that this fact has a history behind it and that it was determined to a large extent by social and economic considerations and the futility under the present conditions of higher agricultural education. They would also have found that when efforts were made by some Universities to make some advance in this direction they not only failed to secure the sympathy of the Government but met with positive discouragement and obstruction from the agricultural department. The records of the Dacca University, for instance, would have given the Commission some idea of the reasons for this inefficiency on the part of the University.

But as I have indicated above, the promotion of research and a better endowment of the department are far from being the primary needs of agriculture at the present moment. Agricultural research, to be fruitful, requires what we sorely lack at the present moment—an economic organisation of the industry. A considerable transformation of the land system and the reconstruction of agriculture on the most up-to-date scientific lines would be necessary before the agriculturist can be really benefited by an elaborate scheme of agricultural research. In dealing with these problems the Commission was no doubt somewhat handicapped by the limited scope of its terms of reference. But in respect of the problems it was competent under the terms of reference to deal with, it has produced a most inadequate and unsatisfying report.

### The Nature of Intelligence

Dr. A. S. Woodburne writes in *the Indian Ladies' Magazine* for August.

In the earlier days of mental testing, one of the criticisms that was levelled against the procedure was that we could not know what was being tested. We were working in the dark, and how could one measure something, the nature of which was unknown? The German psychologist Stern, gave the well-known answer that we measure electricity and pay our electric current bills, in spite of ignorance as to the real nature of electricity. Analogously, though we cannot define intelligence with the precision that we would like, we have learned a good deal about its functions, and many tests of intelligence have been devised. Not only so, but intelligence testing has enabled us to formulate a certain number of inductions, whereby our knowledge of the nature of intelligence is broadened.

It is hardly necessary to point out the complex character of intelligence. It is not only true that it involves abilities to do several different kinds of things but it is also true that the combinations of abilities in different subjects, whom we classify as intelligent, are different. Much argument has been devoted to the problem as to whether intelligence is general or specific. Is it a sort of reservoir into which we try to dip our testing vessels on successive occasions? Or is it a system of many strands from which we attempt to extract samples time after time? Some psychologists insist that the tests are methods of sampling specific abilities, that vary in different

subjects. Others warn us that the theory of specific abilities smacks rather of the defunct faculty, psychology. If we remember our first observation, and guard against using the word too loosely as a substantive, much of the difficulty will be obviated.

One thing is quite obvious: No one test has been devised that is adequate, and most psychologists believe that none can be devised. The variety of human reactions is so great, and the possibilities for intelligent responses so wide, that many tests have to be used. The only way to discover whether a subject can respond intelligently to a given situation is to give him the opportunity of making that type of response. The tests succeed in so far as they typify the various possible reactions.

### Banks vs. Insurance Companies

We read in *The Indian Insurance* for September.

It has been the bitter experience of the Indian people that whenever they show restlessness to get freedom, vested interests at once get busy and do their best (in many cases successfully) to thwart such attempts. This has been prominently brought out in the 1919 Reforms and in the present constitution of what is known as the "Simon Commission." This of course refers to the political domination of this country.

When we come to consider the industrial and economic condition of this country, here again the experience of every Indian business-man has been that he has always encountered not only difficulties but positive opposition from vested interests. Taking a concrete case, the general insurance companies of India are trying, against great odds, to build a steady business. In all countries outside India, banks and insurance companies are working side by side as one cannot exist without the other. It is only in India that banks not only do not co-operate with Indian insurance companies, but deliberately discourage their customers from taking out policies from Indian insurance companies. Merchants have necessarily to go to banks for accommodation. Money is advanced both on goods stored in a warehouse and on goods exported from this country. In both cases, insurance policies are required against fire and against the perils of the sea. These policies have to be assigned to the banks as collateral. It has been the experience of some of the Indian insurance companies that when their policies were handed over by parties, non-Indian banks have either refused to accept them or have in many instances given hints to the customer that all future policies should be taken from British companies. Whenever the matter was taken up with the bank direct, the invariable reply given had been that this was being done under instructions from Head Office. The banks do not evidently realise—probably do not care to realise—what a great deal of harm—perhaps unwittingly—their attitude is doing to Indian insurance companies. The customers, after all, are easily influenced by the opinion of the banks about the insurance companies and when incidents of refusal take place, they draw their own conclusions adverse to Indian insurance companies.



In this way, not only a great deal of direct harm is being done to Indian insurance companies in driving away customers from their field, but even other classes of insurance business with which the bank has nothing to do are also affected.

Most of the exchange banks doing business in this country earn their profit from the people of this country. Is this the sort of reward that Indian concerns should get in their own country from non-Indian banks? We hope that the banks will seriously consider this aspect of the matter and will see to it that they do not place any embargo on the normal growth of Indian insurance companies. These companies never ask for any direct help from banks.

### Kolar Gold-Fields

The Bengal-Nagpur Railway Magazine for September publishes an interesting article on the inner workings of the Kolar Gold mines.

The Gold Fields present the appearance of huge sandhills with giant shafts sticking out of them like masts. Around these sandhills lie clusters of red-tiled, squat houses of the mining staff. Further out are hives of jhaferi-work huts of the coolies.

From the rough quartz to glittering gold is a magic transformation, but few people realise what amount of labour and industry goes to the production of that precious metal which is so dear to every one. That glittering little hoop on the finger of a young lady, the symbol of her romance, may thrill her heart as she presses her lips to it and conjures up visions of her lover, but it seldom reminds her of those who toiled in the bowels of the earth to obtain it.

Nature guards her treasures very zealously and those who want to wrest them from her have to delve deep. The quartz, a greyish and sometimes bluish rock, lies buried hundreds of feet below the surface and to get to it shafts are sunk. They are usually sunk about a hundred feet at first and then "drives" are made north and south. The miners then go down in shifts, sometimes as many as 500 men, armed with pneumatic drills and picks.

I had the thrill, though not without some misgivings, of going down a shaft—*facilis descensus Avernus*! My Virgil, an officer kindly lent by the Superintendent of the Mine, and I were shut in a "cage" a sort of an iron box with holes for ventilation. A touch of the button and the cage began to go down, down, past lit-up "plats" or stages, till we reached the working stage where operations were in progress. We found ghostly figures moving about with small points of light from their safety lamps. The drills and picks were busy.

On our upward journey, we stopped at one of the stages. Electric fans were in motion and swing-doors worked automatically to aid ventilation. In addition to these precautions, the stages which were buttressed with logs of wood, were also supplied with compressed air and in some places there were airholes or winzes. It was strange to hear a telephone bell tinkling so many hundred feet underground.

The quartz was carried up in "skips" or wagons which were worked by electricity. They ran automatically to a landing stage near the crushing mill which was pounding away like cannon shots. The powdered quartz passed through a funnel where it was mixed with a solution of mercury and acids, and then flowed over large trays with strainers. Small particles of gold that escaped with the overflow were caught in blankets, but even then some of the finer grains of gold escaped. To trap these elusive particles, the water and sand were again mixed with a stronger solution of mercury and acids.

In the melting department the miracle of science was completed. There were veritable walls of gold bars which one's fingers itched to touch, though one feared it would all crumble away as in a dream.

The history of the mines has not been without some interesting incidents. On one occasion, a carpenter whose duty it was to pack gold bars in wooden boxes, cleverly concealed a bar of lead of equal size and weight in his tool box. In the process of packing he deftly substituted the bar of lead for a bar of gold. Shortly afterwards the packages were sent off to England and a little later the carpenter resigned his appointment and left the fields. When the fraud was discovered, inquiries were instituted by the police and the crafty carpenter was eventually brought to book. On another occasion, a sawyer of gold bars took to collecting secretly the fine gold dust which fell from the bars. In course of time he collected gold dust to the value of one thousand rupees, but he was afraid to take it away himself lest he should arouse suspicion, so he tied the dust round the waist of his son and sent him home. Unfortunately, for him there was a theft on the train and the police, suspecting the boy searched him and found the precious bundle which the ingenious father had tied round his waist.

### Lowest Paid Employees in the E. B. R.

The E. B. Ry. Labour Review remarks editorially :

Rai Shaheb B. C. Ghosh, Superintendent, Statistical Office, replied through the column of the E. B. Ry. Supplement to the Indian State Railways Magazine, to a query about the "lowest paid Employees salary" by stating that "it is Rs 13." But is that the lowest level? Rai Sahib may find it difficult to climb down below the level of Rs. 13 a month. But that is no reason for supposing that a still lower level does not exist. Our information is that a "Box Bearer" in the Traffic Department has long been drawing an allowance of Rs. 11 per mensem. No one cares to know how that employee feeds and clothes himself on Rs 11 a month. To hundreds of railway employees he is hardly a human being with human requirements.

### Prevention of Tooth Decay

The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health for September publishes an interest-



ing article from the pen of Dr. W. C. Dalbey D.D.S. on Tooth Formation and Decay. The learned doctor says that tooth Decay can be prevented if the following rules are observed.

Tooth decay can be prevented by proper care—principally by keeping the mouth and teeth clean. It is a fundamental law that a clean tooth cannot decay. Regular visits for inspection to a reliable dentist are advisable, and if there is occasion for treatment, have it done and done right. If work is done in the first stages of decay, the filling is quite painless. A good rule is that when you think your teeth are all right visit your dentist. The longer a person waits the bigger the cavity becomes, and the nearer the nerve it gets the more painful the filling process is. A break in any other part of the body may grow up, but a break in a tooth constantly gets larger if not stopped. If it is not stopped, the nerve will eventually die: then you will have to look out for trouble sure enough.

The little invisible enemies—the microbes—are not the only ones that injure the teeth, however; there is another enemy, in many respects just as bad. This enemy is called salivary calculus, or tartar. This tartar, by a natural process, forms round the teeth, especially near the gums. While not so dangerous as the microbes, if allowed to remain, it sets up an irritation (as it is a foreign substance) within the free margin of the gum around the teeth, thereby causing the gums to recede. The gums become unduly inflamed, and later on the teeth loosen so much that it brings about a very bad order of things,—pyorrhœa, the most baneful disease of dentistry. In very bad cases the teeth literally fall out. This is not all; the whole system is badly deranged Rheumatism, arthritis (gout), heart disease, stomach disorders, neuralgia, neuritis, and kindred ailments have been directly caused by, and are the result of, such a condition. All tartar should be removed.

Another enemy to good teeth preservation is an overindulgence in certain kinds of food. Too many sweets in general may cause havoc, because they are prone to ferment and manufacture acids quickly when left upon the teeth. Such food is the microbes' joy.

Teeth, as well as other organs of the body, must have exercise, and they cannot get this necessary exercise unless they are allowed to chew hard food. Of course, nuts should never be cracked by the teeth, as this puts undue strain upon them and is liable to crack the enamel. Neither should the teeth be picked with hard objects, as knife blades or nut picks.

### The Ideal of Civic Life

In a small inspiring message to *The Indian*, the organ of The Indian Association of Singapore, the poetess Sarojini Naidu thus lifts up her voice in utterances of truth and beauty.

The thing which is very necessary for us to

remember is that as modern civilisation progresses, as the world becomes more and more international in giving and receiving enlightenment, we are absorbing from other countries as we are giving to other countries. With such ideas, such treasures of knowledge and experience of wider horizon and scientific thought, the responsibility of personal service becomes greater. Life is more complex. I ask you to dedicate your life to this cause, to make your lights ready to be kindled at the flame of devotion, to serve your country worthily. I do not say to you to become teachers to preach or politicians by this or by that. Whatever your sphere in life is however small you are, remember, you are an indispensable unit in making up that vast social organisation which makes the country a nation. I want you all to remember that the greatness of a country will not lie in its great men, but in its average good men, who realised the daily life of purity, truth, courage in overcoming such obstacles that stand in the way of progress by giving equal opportunities to all human beings, of all castes and creeds and not to withhold from any man or woman his or her God-given, inviolable right to live to the fullest capacity.

### Biologists and Life

Just at this moment when the scientists are claiming to have at last found a clue to the "Mystery of Life," it may be interesting to know how people, who are not scientists but all the same rational, look upon some of the much vaunted claims and assertions of the biologists. The Editor of the *'Prabuddha Bharat'* in a thoughtful and thought provoking contribution thus looks beyond the frontier, as he says:

We have mentioned the biologists' argument that all their observations show that life is always associated with matter. In our opinion that proves nothing. They are simply making their ignorance an argument. Unless they try to see discarnate life, they will always find life associated with matter. By their own admission, the biologists know nothing of where life comes from. They know life only in its middle state, they know nothing of its origin or its ends, and from a partial knowledge no correct conclusion is possible. There are facts, on the other hand, which do show that life and consciousness can subsist without their usual material associations. The case of the Hindu monk, Haridas, putting himself in a box and being interred in a grave which was carefully closed with earth and rising up from it after forty days, is well-known. His nostrils were closed with wax, so he could not breathe; and when he was taken out of the sealed box, an English physician carefully examined him,—he was medically dead, there was no pulsation of the heart, the temples or the arm. He had remained in this "dead" condition for forty days; yet within half an hour of his disinterment he could talk freely with all. How did the monk's life subsist so long, if material association were



essential to its existence? During all those forty days, the monk had no air, no food, no water; his whole organism was at a standstill. Yet he lived!

The case of Sri Ramakrishna also is well-known. Often while in deep Samadhi, he would show all signs of death. Expert physicians of Calcutta sometimes examined him in that state, and found that the heart had stopped beating and there was a complete cessation of breath:—there was no sign of life anywhere in the body. This happened many times during his life. But though the body was dead, the mind and consciousness apparently existed.

Nor do we find the other argument of the biologists that if the soul were an immaterial spirit, death would have been instantaneous, convincing. They mention the fact that apparently dead persons can be revived by artificial means. But do they mean that all dead persons can be so revived? Has the process been found invariably effective? We do not think medical men go so far in their assertion, if then, there are many cases in which artificial means of revival have failed, why not consider that the cases in which they succeeded, were really not cases of death but of deep unconsciousness?

### Imperialism or Satanism?

Writing in *Triveni* about 'The Self-Defense of India' Dewan Bahadur Mr. Ramachandra Rao thus concludes his able and well-balanced article.

The relation of empires to subject communities is, in fact, a great seed-ground for those states of mind which Professor Gilbert Murray has compendiously grouped under the name of Satanism. The spirit of unmixed hatred towards world-order is increasing. It is felt to some extent against all ordered Governments, and Professor Murray thinks that it is chiefly directed against Imperial governments and it is directed more widely and intensely against Great Britain than against any other power. From the point of view of the British Commonwealth, the possible remedy for these evils is, in his opinion, that the British statesmen must first think carefully what their principles are, and secondly they must sincerely carry them out. The British have repeatedly said that they are in India, not for their own profit, nor to use Indians as food for cannons, but to enable India to govern itself. If this is their ideal, Great Britain must carry it out honestly and faithfully. Let there be no hypocrisy, conscious or unconscious, about the matter.

### Why England is Great

"What are the secret of England's greatness" asks A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M. A., (Oxon) I. C. S. in *The Garland*, and he does not forget as he tries to answer the question that

The disgruntled and superficial Indian is apt to give the reason as mere possession of physical strength and the ability to thrust her yoke on others.

Mr. Ayyar is neither blind:

I do not deny that part of England's greatness is undoubtedly due to her great military, naval, and aerial strength. But these themselves are the result of certain qualities of her citizens which have little to do with fighting qualities proper.

But, he tries to be fair as he enunciates his aim in the examination of the question.

My aim below is to describe some of the most outstanding of those qualities.

There is in England a public spirit the like of which is not to be seen in India. Several thousands of people render services of the most valuable nature every day honorarily.

With this aim he begins his reply and the reply is presented here in brief excerpts:

Many fire brigades are manned wholly by such workers.

Almost all the hospitals of England are maintained by public subscription. India has the first hospitals maintained by citizens. The great hospital at Pataliputra was wholly maintained by the Municipality and the contributions of wealthy citizens and was the first thing of its kind in the world. There is a beautiful tradition which says that the hospital even refused with thanks the princely aid offered by the Emperor Asoka on the score that thanks to his Majesty's beneficent rule the citizens were able to run the institution themselves and so the money might be diverted to the purchase of medicines and drugs to be exported to the less fortunate neighbouring countries like Syria and Egypt. And so it seems was, done. Well, things are far different in modern India.

Englishmen exhibit their public spirit also in aiding the police in detecting crime.

A remarkable way in which the public spirit of Englishmen manifests itself is in the periodical searches for missing persons and rendering valuable assistance to the police in murder cases. It does one good to read that a fleet of cars scoured Dartmoor or some other desolate region free in order to trace out missing persons. When will such a thing be possible in India? Again, almost undetectable murder cases have been detected, sometimes after years owing to the co-operation of the citizens.

Another sterling virtue of the Britisher is his respect for the law and trust in the courts

Unity in crises is another great civic quality of the Britisher. In times of crises when the country's honour or safety or prestige is at stake all disputes are postponed for the time being and a united front is shown towards the foreigner. Thus when Mustapha Kemal Pasha was threatening to fortify the Dardannells and close the straits there were keen differences in the English press about the desirability of going to war for this. In the midst of this war of words the cabinet sent a stiff note to Kemal Pasha and despatched two squadrons from Aldershot to the Dardannells.

I was surprised to find in all the morning papers photos of the troops sent and leaders to



the effect that now that the nation had committed itself all differences would cease till the crisis was over.

A not less noteworthy characteristic of Britishers is their love of orderly progress and hatred of all revolution.

Another great asset of England is the absolute freedom of her citizens from religious prejudices in matters political. In days gone-by Englishmen were far more intolerant than the Indians of today and with less justification as England had only sectarian differences and not such vast religious differences as exist between Hinduism and Islam. But now things have radically changed.

The thirst for knowledge and the desire to utilize it for the country's benefit is another predominant trait which should not be overlooked. Englishmen realize that the moment they become intellectually stagnant their greatness will be a thing of the past. So learning and research are encouraged both by the State and by private citizens. In experiments the Englishman is careless of loss of money or even life.

We are no anglophil; but we find more grounds to agree with the writer than to dissent from him.

### Christian Missions and Industrial Problems

"The Gospel of Christ contains a message not only for the individual soul, but for the world of social organizations and economic relations in which individuals live." With this prefatory remarks the Jerusalem Council gives its opinions on industrial problems that rage through the Christian world: We learn from *The Youngmen of India* the following:

The Council advocates the abolition of all forms of forced labour. The following standard of legislative protection for the workers in industry was accepted:—

A limit of working hours and one day's rest in seven.

A minimum wage.

Elimination of child-labour.

Protection of women.

Accident and sickness insurance.

Adequate inspection.

Freedom of association.

This standard is in harmony with that set by the League of Nations and the Council had the benefit of a member of the permanent staff of the International Labour Office with them in all their deliberations on this subject.

Of the foregoing provisions India has accepted all but the second. Elimination of child-labour below the age of 12 years has now been achieved by law in British India. The standard in all these matters is usually lower in Native States where the British Factory Act does not run. Protection of women is proceeding gradually. The question of eliminating women's work underground has now been taken up. In the

coal mines, where the largest number are employed, Government proposes to take 10 years to achieve this end. Accident insurance has been introduced. There is as yet no sickness insurance. There is a system of Factory Inspection, but inspectors themselves would be the first to declare that it is not adequate owing to the smallness of the staff. Freedom of association for workers was granted with the passing of the Act recognizing Trade Unions and providing for their registration.

It remains to be seen however, how the Christian people view these Christian conclusions.

### Indian Labour Unrest

Under the above caption, Mr. N. M. Joshi M. L. A. discusses in *The Indian Labour Review* the cause and cure of the malady which nobody can ignore. Nor can any one afford to ignore what Mr. Joshi has got to say in the matter. Says Mr. Joshi.

The general unrest in the country gives us a clear warning that the conditions of work and life in organised industries in India require the immediate and sympathetic attention of the Government, the employers, and the general public. The condition of the workers, both as regards hours of work, wages and security of employment and provision against risk of sickness, unemployment and old age require to be substantially improved. The workers have suffered too long on account of conditions which should not be tolerated in any civilised country.

The several strikes and lock-outs that are at present going on are only an expression of the discontent that exists and that has been unheeded and unattended to so long. The fight in Bombay and Lilloah is against worsening of conditions; the fight at Jamshedpur and on the South Indian Railway is against the impending unemployment. Nobody can blame the workers for putting up a fight to protect their interests. It is a natural corollary to the conditions which lie at the root of the present wide unrest.

No, I do not agree with you. The Communists could not have succeeded if there had been no real unrest. They may, and certainly do, exploit that unrest and the real grievances of the workers; but they do not create that unrest; the unhappy condition of the workers do that. I do not of course approve of extremists and Communists methods. But the extremists and Communists will not disappear so long as the workers are not convinced that they can improve their conditions quicker by other methods than those propounded by Communists.

And unfortunately the Government and employers do not appreciate milder methods; they will only give better conditions when they are coerced by a strike or a threat of a strike. It is therefore clear that the workers must resort to a strike when they can get their grievances redressed only by that method. The advice of moderation to postpone a strike until all other methods are



exhausted is lost on the workers when they find by experience that a strike is the only method by which they can get something.

### Technical Education in India

L. D. Coneslant thus concludes his article on the above subject in the *Calcutta Review*.

We should beware of the fallacy that teaching of mere craftsmanship is the whole, or even the most important, part of technical education, and should not allow it to be assumed that all that is wanted is a great multiplication of institutions teaching skill. India will ultimately have to take her place in the modern world, and as was explained in the beginning the direction of industrial development is away from skill.

If India refuses to accept the machine she may do one of two things. She may exclude the machine-made article by prohibitive duties, in which case the whole of the consuming public will be compelled to pay very high prices for an inferior article. Or she may open her ports, and see the producers in her own country ruined by a competition impossible to resist.

It will be of no avail that labour in India only costs a tenth as much as in the West. One man armed with power-driven machinery can do the work of a hundred artisans working with their hands. Besides, who that loves India can hope that labour will continue to be cheap? "Cheapness of labour" in this connection is only a euphemism for "misery of the working class."

### Indian Medical Council

*Calcutta Medical Journal* discusses editorially the bill for the establishment of an All-India Council that is being sought to be introduced into the Central Legislature, and the points it makes out are instructive as the following excerpts show.

We are doubtful whether it is possible at present to lay down a uniform standard of qualifications in Medicine for the whole of India. The Universities and Colleges in a province are now part of the Medical Departments under the Control of Ministers in charge of transferred subjects. This provision in the Government of India Act of 1919 is meant to ensure that the administration of educational institutions in Medicine and of the hospitals attached thereto, should be under the control and guidance of a person who shall be influenced by public opinion. There can be no meaning in having this department transferred to a popular Minister unless the Act intended that the course of study, the control of examinations, the qualifications required to be possessed by medical practitioners before they are allowed to practise, should under the guidance of a minister, be adjusted to the peculiar needs of each province and that the people of the province should have a voice, however indirect it may be, in these respects.

There is a further difficulty in this matter of control of the standard of qualifications by a

Central Council. The standard of qualification, the courses of study pursued and the examination conducted in each province are controlled by the Universities or by the Provincial Councils of medical registration who enjoy statutory powers for this purpose. It is difficult to understand how a bill, even if passed by the Central Legislature, can take away the privileges and rights of these statutory bodies unless there are provisions in the bill repealing these powers so far as the Universities and the Provincial Councils of Registration are concerned. The present bill makes no mention that such procedure would be adopted. It therefore, comes to this, that the medical institutions would be controlled by two bodies, *viz.*, by the Indian Medical Council and by the Provincial Statutory Bodies as mentioned above.

The bill before us gives no indication as to whether practice of medicine according to systems other than Allopathic will be affected by the provisions of the bill. If it is so, it would mean an undue interference with the indigenous system of medicine hitherto unknown.

The system of medical education based upon European methods is of a recent growth in many of the provinces in India. We do not consider that sufficient time has elapsed for each province to meet difficult situations and then only a centralised body would be of any use. We therefore, unhesitatingly condemn this bill.

### Witness of the West

T. L. Vaswani returned to India, as he says in *The Kalpaka* to find no echo there of his own inward faith and strength. Says he in his characteristic way:

I know that Indian idealism is being trampled upon in India. Several years have passed since I returned to her shores with the new experiences and the new hopes given me in my lonely wanderings in the West. I have looked into the eyes of India's men and women buying and selling in the market-place. I have looked and found them busy with many things but not with the one thing needful. With mournful cry I have lifted up my voice, saying, "Where, O Lord, where is the song of the Rishis of the past?" I have gazed into the eyes of the youngmen studying science and arts at the schools and the universities. I have found them eager for intellectual attainment but not for self-renunciation. I looked into the temples, once honoured centres of the sacred light, and a sadness has entered my heart. I have looked into the faces of the poor, down-trodden, patient multitudes of the land, and I have cried with a sorrowful heart, "Where art thou, O Lord, and where the song of the Rishis of the past?"

Can it be that the ancient message is dead? Is the sacred song stilled forever? I cannot think so! Not yet are snapped the chords of our souls. For even in these days if someone pure and devout, a teacher of idealism, a true *sadhu*, a bhakta of God comes to us, we are still able to offer him the homage of our hearts. We are



fallen from the heights, but under the merciful Providence that shames India's life we are, I believe, being prepared to rise again and play our part in building a new civilization. Will the day come soon when men and women of East and West may glimpse the beauty of the Rishis' vision, and worship together in the Temple of Humanity the "One whom the Sages call by many names?"

As the darkness is deepening, I cling yet closer to my faith that India will yet be free and the Nations yet brothers be. For they all are His. And the world we live in is beautiful.

### Jihad

'Jihad' forms the first instalment of a series of valuable studies. Pandit Chamupati is contributing in *The Vedic Magazine*, and the following deduction and conclusion of the writer deserves attention:

If the behaviour of the Arab Muslim towards his non-Muslim fellow-countrymen, during the first century of Islam, when the sources of inspiration were not yet soiled by the contaminating expiry of time, be taken to be the nucleus round which all subsequent inter-religious jurisprudence gathered as a system of Islamic exclusive imperialism, the riddle of the Hindu Muslim troubles in India is immediately solved. It is *Jihad* pure and simple. That the process in progress here is desultory is no fault of the Mulla. The biggest of the Prophet's battles would seem skirmish by the side of present-day wars. Islamic law-books mention tiny weapons of warfare, such as missiles and swords, the place of which is today taken by brickbats and butchers knives, and the fanatic section of the faithful derives infinite solace from the present-day re-enactment of the drama of the Quran. Only, they do not call these *Saria* and *ghazva*, titles reserved for battles waged by the Prophet himself. Lying in wait and stabbing in the back, pillage and arson and brutal outrages on women are to a keen-sighted observer simply echoes of the din of the guerilla wars with which Islamic literature, beginning with the Quran, is full.

### Paul Dahlke

We catch a glimpse of the great and devoted student of Buddhism, Dr. Paul Dahlke, from an informative study in *The Maha Bodhi*.

He was of opinion that there is already in existence all the books about Buddhism that we

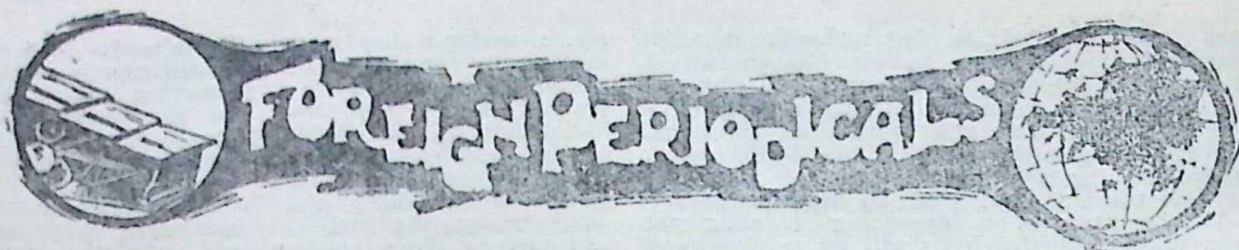
need; perhaps too many. For already in their multiplicity they tend to become a distraction from Buddhist life, instead of a promoting towards it. He felt, in fact, that what the European world to-day needs, is not Buddhist books, but Buddhist Viharas,—places where men can retire awhile from the press and throng of every day life with all its clamant needs, and "come to themselves," collect themselves, find out just what they are and what is their position, and take the steps needed to improve it along inner lines, having followed too long already the so seductive, but so deceptive, methods of trying to improve it along merely outward paths. This latter method, he felt, Europeans had followed for long enough now, and the result was only what he called a "polished barbarism" whose blackness was not a whit any the less for the high degree of its polish.

The savage 'barbarism' of mid-war Germany and the financial crisis of post-war Germany failed equally to cool the ardour of this devoted worker for *ahimsa* and the translator of the Gospel of *ahimsa*.

He persevered, and quietly and unassumingly gathered together what was needed to purchase the land on which he eventually built his Buddhist House. But as most of the money so gathered was his own, the "House" was always his own, as also the land on which it was built. But it was always open for any one whether they called themselves "Buddhists" or not, to stay there, so long as they observed the Rule of the House, for a period of three months free of charge, if they were unable to meet the cost of their food. But after that, if they wished to stay longer, they were expected to contribute towards their living expenses.

There were never more than a few inmates of the House at any one time; but quite a number of people—some of them, people of some eminence in the course of the few years since it was founded, passed through the discipline of the House, and doubtless some of them found it good for them, and received impressions which will stay with them throughout their lives. This fewness of residents did not surprise the Doctor. He quite recognised that only a very few people are "ripe enough"—his own phrase—for Buddhist life as apart from Buddhist doctrine. But he felt that such people ought to have waiting for them as soon as they were "ripe" a place to which they could go and live the life they wanted to lead; and he felt that he had done his part in providing such a place, and was quite satisfied to have done so; whether many or few took advantage of it, so he said, was their look out not his. He had done his share in the matter. It was now for others to do theirs, as soon as they were "ripe" for it.





## Centenary of the Brahmo Samaj

The following interesting information imparted by *The Inquirer*, that many foreigners are coming to participate in the Centenary now lends support to the view that Brahmo Samaj stands for a Universal religion. The information runs thus :

The Delegation from England to the Centenary meetings of the Brahmo Samaj in India will consist of Dr. and Mrs. W. H. Drummond, Mrs. Woodhouse, Miss Ruth Nettlefold and Mr. and Mrs. F. W. Monks and Mis 'Monks. Dr. and Mrs. Drummond will leave London on September 8 by the S. S. *Mulbera* and proceed by sea to Calcutta, where they are due to arrive on October 11. The rest of the party will leave Liverpool a few days earlier by the S. S. *Oxfordshire* and will join the *Mulbera* at Colombo. The English delegates will proceed almost at once to Darjeeling for the celebration by the local Brahmo Samaj. Subsequently they will take part in a missionary tour to important centres of the work in other parts of India, prior to the large meetings which will be held in Calcutta in January. Dr. Drummond has been invited to lecture on behalf of the Hibbert Trustees during this Indian visit. The leaders of the Brahmo Samaj have requested that he should deal specially with the growth of liberal religious life and thought during the past hundred years (1) in Europe (2) in England.

Dr. and Mrs. Drummond have accepted an invitation from Herr Rohrer of Jerusalem to visit the Temple Colonies in Palestine on the return journey next spring. It is hoped that other members of the party will also visit Palestine.

## The Changing Face of Islam

We read in *The Commonweal* the following :

Dr. Hans Kohn, in "Foreign Affairs" for June, writes on the wonderful change in Turkey. "Twenty years ago ... Turkey was a mediaeval theocracy ... the Ottoman Empire with its head, the Caliph, was an embodiment of Islam ... not only a religious creed, as present day Europe understands it, but a creed embodying a definite attitude and outlook on all things sacred as well as profane, public as well as private. ... The Caliphate has been abolished, religious service modernised and strictly regulated, the power and influence of the clergy broken, European dress and headgear made obligatory, and—the greatest revolution of

all—the Islamic Code of Law replaced by the Swiss Civil Code. ... Islam has no longer any official status in Turkey."

Indeeds Islam is not alone in this respect, as the *Commonweal* recognizes.

It is impossible that the great religions of the race can fail to be affected by the physical science of to-day, which undermines the conception of the physical and material world common to all of them; by the modern study and knowledge of human history; by the modern recognition of evolution, or development, or growth, as a law of life physical, mental, moral and religious; by the spread of education; by the growing intercommunication of the different races and nationalities to-day; by the spread of democratic ideas; by the new study and literature of Comparative Religion; by the decay of dogmatism (religion based on external, miraculous authority; and by the growing recognition of the spiritual nature of man as the fountain of true religion of which Love is the supreme manifestation.

In Bahaism and Sufism, the Brahmo Samaj, Modernism, Idealism, Religious Conference etc., we seem to see as it were a flowing tide that is gradually submerging the old world. Man, by virtue of the divine spark in him, is, we hope, emerging to a new level of physical, intellectual, moral and religious life. We must die to live.

## East and West

Is Western Civilization Worth Saving ?" asks Mr. Paul Arthur Schilpp in *The World Tomorrow* and concludes that the West cannot remain in exclusion from the East.

Whatever of hope there may be for western civilisation cannot be found in any belief in inevitable progress and certainly not in the vain arrogance of a nordic supremacy complex. We are no more the chosen people of any deity playing favorites than any other nationality or race, past or present. We are chosen as were the Hebrews only in so far as we lose ourselves in these activities and tasks which, in the nature of the world-process or, if you will, of the divine purpose, carry on the constant evolution of world-creation. In so far as we block the road of that process, we must expect it to overrule and overpower and, if need be, ultimately to annihilate us—not as the punishment of an angry God, but as the inevitable consequence of ignor-



ance, unwillingness or inability to learn the workings of the world-process.

The important thing for us at this time is the return to a new emphasis on the humanities which might stave off the debacle of western civilization a little longer. Nothing can be reached by a continued one-sided emphasis on the physical sciences but the impasse of a pure mechanism and with it the ruin of western culture. For the salvation of the western world there is needed a good dose of the quietistic reflection and self-control of the oriental mind, even as the oriental cannot hope to survive unless he adopts something of the mechanical achievement of the occidental. In other words, we need not merely respect the distinctive features and characteristics of the cultures which digress fundamentally from our own, but the realization that each must learn from the other and the acknowledgement that only by a reciprocal approach and a filling up of the gaps of our own character can we hope to "hang on." As Max Scheler and Count Keyserling have put it, what is needed is "a reconciliation between the occidental and the oriental cultural hemispheres." Thus, perhaps, the western man may once again find his soul and survive.

### The Future of Marriage

Selected passages from the sermon of Dr. John Haynes Holmes, reproduced by the *Birth Control Review* of America, throws light on the above interesting topic, which the greatest minds of the world are speculating upon. Says Dr. Holmes.

Marriage, like every other social institution will change because it must change. Nothing stands still in this unfolding world, not even the most firmly rooted of our social practices. But evolution is of two kinds. First, there is the evolution of progress, the change which moves onward and upward. This process operates in two ways; first by accumulating innumerable little changes which prove to be beneficial to life, and secondly by preserving these changes and building them into a permanent system of growing intricacy and beauty.

The second type of evolution the evolution of reversion or retrogression is the change which turns back and reverts to more primitive forms. Evolution social as well as biological, does not necessarily mean progress. It is the peculiar mission of man to control the onward sweep of cosmic forces. Man, if he will, may master evolution in himself and in the world at large, and drive it to ever onward goals. But evolution will not do this of itself. Change may as easily go backward as forward. Man must hold what he has gained, and gain still more if he would be saved.

Return now to the changes in marriage. Are we preserving the things gained with infinite labour and sacrifice, or are we wantonly throwing those things away and returning to where we started. It is not because I am opposed to change but because I fear the kind of change which seems implicit in the present tendencies in sex

relations, that I am opposed to much that is now sweeping down upon us. In present tendencies in marriage we see the forces of dispersion at work, biologically and sociologically the forces of rampant and anarchic individualism. Along these lines lies the way back to primitive man not forward to a more civilized and enlightened man of the future. The more I study the the development inevitable in the marriage relations, the more sure I am that certain great achievements, infinitely favorable to man's higher life, will remain as fixed foundations upon which to build in years to come.

What are these achievements? Enumerates Dr. Holmes

First among these achievements destined to endure is the idea that sex relations between men and women are matters of public and not merely of private concern. The sex bond is a covenant, and it must be an open covenant openly arrived at.

Secondly, the union of husband and wife shall not only be public as a matter of knowledge but shall be bound by the social sanction as a matter of procedure.

Lastly, the union between men and women shall be a monogamous one and not a promiscuous one. Sexual love shall be restricted to one person at one time because we have learned through centuries that love is most potent and beautiful, as it flows through a single channel. In these conditions is a line or direction of progress along which we must move, unless we choose to return to those conditions of primitive barbarism from which we sprang. Within these bounds, however, great and beneficent changes are certain to take place, as they are already taking place.

Thus it has already become manifest that in the future woman shall be wholly free, master of herself and her destiny. Man and woman, in other words will be equal partners in the central experience of their life, each giving and taking in the glad exchange of utter master and utter surrender.

Secondly, in the future, as gradually now in the present, children will be conceived and born in marriage only as they are wanted. Generations will hence forth be a matter not of accident but of choice.

Thirdly, divorce will more and more be recognized as the inevitable complement of marriage. Even today divorce is still regarded as an evil. This must disappear, as men come to recognize that mistakes in marriage are only more liable than they are in other less difficult relationships, and must be corrected by some established process of relief. The process will certainly be more dignified and reverent than what we know today, but it will be as freely at the disposal of those who love no longer, as marriage is now at the disposal of those who love.

These are mere suggestions of change in the marriage relation. The very fact that such changes are inevitable only proves that marriage is succeeding. Throughout the whole range of physical and spiritual life runs the passionate demand of men and women for one another. In spite of every adjustment and every noble sublimation, there is certain and tragic frustration in



the life that is denied union with the other sex. Marriage is today what it has ever been and it will be tomorrow, for all its inevitable changes, the best attempt that men have been able to make or even conceive, in the establishing of ideal conditions under which the basic hunger of life may be satisfied.

### Women's Movements in Japan

In an informative article in the *Young East* M. Mita recounts the victories so far attained by the women of the far-east in some spheres.

To cite the most salient of instances where the movements of the women have by this time been duly rewarded, the following may be noted with no small interest:

#### Legal:

The women have practically succeeded in getting the attorneys' license act and criminal code so revised as to render the women eligible to the attorneyship, and also to share equally with their husbands the duty of chastity which has hitherto been unilateral with the fair sex. In this country in trying a fornication case the Court used to find the women alone guilty, but according to the Government bill introduced in the preceding session of the Diet, which unfortunately proved abortive on account of the dissolution, the man fornicator will in future be punished as much as the female fornicator.

#### Political:

The women have succeeded in passing through the Diet for enforcement by the Government in the near future their petition for investment of the fair sex with public citizenship, and also in asserting the women's liberty of participating in any political organizations.

#### Social:

The freedom of the factory girls to go out of their workshops at any time they want has been recognized by the Tokyo Muslim Company, although the factory girls have hitherto had to lead in their manufactories a practically imprisoned life for the terms contracted. The example will be followed by all the other factories in the near future. The general shipping companies have come to recognize the eligibility of women to ships' captainship, and as the first captain ever registered in this country has already been appointed Miss Tsuchiko Katapama.

#### Educational:

A success has been secured at length by the women movers in persuading the Government authorities to estimate the sum of ¥350,000 next year for the creation of the first Government Higher Technical School of Women.

A private women's college called Bunka Gakuin has been established by Dr. Yoshino and other scholars interested in the women's cause, for three years' economic course for graduates from the higher girls schools while the women's higher commercial school, the first of the kind in Japan has been brought into existence by Mr. Yoshiji Kobayashi, principal of the Hinode Higher Girls' School. The school authorities have been persuaded to entitle women as well to the right of

gaining the degree (scholastic), and already the Doctorship of Science has been conferred on Professoress Konoko Yasui, of the Tokyo Higher Women's Normal School, this being the first female Doctor in this land.

Nor are the daughters of Nippon resting on their oars.

They are going to push on the following still more important causes to be accomplished:

#### Social:

Abolition of prostitutes system.

Stricter temperance act.

Exclusion of the geisha from public assemblages of any nature.

No more licence to be granted for geisha girls dancers, and cafe-maids.

Patriotic savings movement among the women's associations and higher girls school students to persuade them to save one sen per diem for six years to redeem the Empire's foreign debts.

Protection of women workers and juvenile workers.

#### Political:

Enfranchisement of the women.

Election of Mayors by citizens.

#### Legal:

To so revise the existing civil code as:

To make wife's consent essential to the legal validity of husband's recognition of his illegitimate children.

To give the legitimately born girls the right of precedence over illegitimately born boys recognized by the husbands later, in succeeding to the headship of a family.

To entitle women to the right of sharing the privilege of inheriting parents' estates with their brothers.

#### Educational:

Elevation of women's school status.

#### International:

Apart from peace movement, the women of Japan have come to take no small interest in the various international conferences of the fair sex and will always insist to send their delegates whenever any subjects of their own interest are to be discussed at such conferences.

### Are the American Races Japanese?

Shujiro Watanabe in the August installment of the series "The Japanese and the Outer World" that he is contributing in *The Japan Magazine* considers the relationship between the Japanese and American races. Considerable curiosity must be roused to learn the following from him:

When Kampfer visited Japan in 1690-2 he saw a map drawn by a Japanese in which Kamtchatka and the N. W. part of America was exactly depicted. He ascertained that America had been accidentally discovered by the Japanese who sailed the Pacific in ancient times. Another writer, Mossman, referring to native traditions, remarks that the Japanese were the first discoverers of America. In a map published in France about 1710, the straits are described as "Detroits de



Iesso" or Straits of Yezo, and Alaska is called "Terre de Iesso" or land of Yezo.

Canada, according to European geographers, was discovered by Cabot in 1497. Its ancient history is obscure, but there are two traditions. One of these, current among the inhabitants of the Arctic Circle, is that a Norseman called Leif Ericson drifted in a boat to the coast of Labrador and was the first discoverer, while another is that in ancient times Asiatics came to the country, crossing the straits on the opposite coast. Concerning these traditions a Japanese who has travelled in the country remarks: "The inhabitants of the north insist that Europeans were the first discoverers, but this is quite out of the question. The tradition that Asiatics were the first may be considered to conform with the truth, for the face of the natives of British Columbia (called Siwashes) greatly resemble those of the Japanese, and armour, nearly similar to that of Japan, had recently been unearthed at Vancouver. The opinion is not, however, based on any further proofs, and but one thing is certain: that in ancient times there were troglodytes in the country, as their caves and relics have been found in various places between the Bay of Mexico and Winnipeg. Their caves dug out in shady woods are of immemorial age. Most of them are now dilapidated and so have lost their primitive form, but their original state is clearly discernible. Their history, however, can not be traced, as the Indian natives have no traditions concerning them, and no account has been furnished by early visitors from Europe. The natives are long-haired, bare-footed and very stupid, worshipping strange gods and other objects. Their copper coloured faces and black hair resemble those of the labourers of Japan, so that it has been supposed that they are of the same race; but the inhabitants of the eastern portion of the country are considered of a different stock as they have skins of a deep red colour."

As stated above, the Siwashes or aborigines of America so resemble some of the Japanese in face, physique and general aspect that they are often mistaken for the latter. In British Columbia and Mexico the natives call a sandal *waralie* or *warazi* and a hoe *kuwa*, which seem derived from Japanese words.

### Japan and Manchuria

That China is not yet out of the wood, so far at least as her territorial integrity is concerned, will be evident from the reply of Baron Yoshiro Sakotani, "a former cabinet Minister" and one of the most prominent and active publicists in Japan at the present time," to Lloyd George. *The Japan Magazine* for September gives the reply the place of honour apparently to endorse it. We reproduce the reply of the Baron:

We are informed, according to a press despatch of July 30 that Mr. Lloyd George had expressed the hope that there would be no practical annexation of Manchuria by Japan. I am absolutely con-

fident that there is not a single statesman in this country who entertains any views opposed to his. At the same time, I wish to call his attention to the following points.

I. While no Japanese statesman harbours any such thought as the annexation of Manchuria, it must be remembered that it is quite different from any other part of China in its historical, economic, geographical and other relations with Japan. The Chinese people themselves have, in the past, paid little or no attention to it. In some respects, they looked upon it as a "white elephant" and never exerted any special effort for the welfare of its inhabitants.

Nor did China ever raise a finger to put an end to the Russian encroachment in the Far East. The fact is so well known in history that when Russia demonstrated her unquestionable design to annex Korea, Japan was forced to take up arms against her in 1904-5. It was she alone, however, who was called upon to bear the brunt of the task of driving Russia to the north.

At present due to the Japanese guards scattered along the South Manchurian Railway, the safety of the transportation of both passenger and freight is secured, and incidentally this has prevented the spread of civil strife to that section of China, thus giving untold blessings of peace to those otherwise unfortunate people. Nor should the fact that no less than 800,000 annually seek haven there be ignored.

Hence while Manchuria is nominally under the sovereignty of China all that the Chinese Government has done was to exact something from it giving nothing in return. On the other hand Japan afforded the people of this section, peace and prosperity and required nothing in the way of compensation. Although our neighbours to the west of us enjoyed their sovereign right over Manchuria they assumed no responsibility consonant to it. A large share of this burden, economic, security or otherwise, rests upon Japan's shoulders.

II. Since 1905 Japan has developed Manchuria by virtue of the treaties between the two countries. She has invested billions for the improvements of its harbours and railways; she opened its mines and increased the export of its agricultural products, thereby contributing, in no small measure, to the civilization of the world. That she has peacefully promoted the economic welfare of this district is universally recognized. Its benefits are being shared by the nations of the world under the principles of the open door and equal opportunity; and Japan entertains no such irrational and district idea as to monopolize them in the future.

III. Thus, that Japan has a great interest in the affairs of Manchuria goes without saying. Besides the vested interest above mentioned, the number of the Japanese subjects including Koreans scattered throughout this vast area, is well over one million. Hence its peace and order are absolute prerequisites to the safeguarding of Japan's existing interests as well as for the benefits of the Chinese themselves. The development of Manchuria is not only necessary for Japan and China alone, but it is a great concern of the whole world. We feel, therefore, the maintenance of peace there should be studied from a broader vision and world viewpoint.



How similar Imperialist arguments are all over the world !

To the publicist and ex-cabinet Minister we make a present of the following Editorial Comments of the *New Republic*.

The conflict between China and Japan over Manchuria grows steadily more serious. The Chinese revolutionists are seeking to win over General Chang Hsueh-liang, who has succeeded Chang Tso-lin as overlord of Manchuria. They know they have no chance in a war with Japan, but they wish to strengthen their influence in Manchuria in every possible way, ponding an appeal to the public opinion of the world, or perhaps to the League of Nations. They have not forgotten that such an appeal caused Japan to relinquish the Shantung peninsula in 1922. In this case, however, Japan's position is quite different. Food and raw materials from Manchuria are essential to the maintenance of her crowded population; and, whether wisely or not, she feels that her military strategy demands control of the province. Baron Tanaka more than a year ago announced his country's "special interest" in Manchuria; and before and since then, Japan has acted as though she had annexed the territory. The excuse she now gives for objecting to the spread of Nationalist influence north of the Great Wall is that the Chinese government is still insecure, and has "a Red tinge." The first of these charges is no business of Japan's, and there is every reason to believe that the second is false. But if the Chinese government were like Gibraltar and as conservative as Poincare, Japan would still fight to keep Manchuria.

### Nanking—not Peking

Arthur De Sowerby thus considers the respective position of Peking and Nanking in the *China Journal*, the removal of the Capital of the Nationalist China giving him the occasion for it.

The decision of the Nationalist Party in China now, dominant throughout the country, to transfer the seat of government from Peking to Nanking will doubtless be received throughout the world with mixed feelings. To all those travellers who have visited the ancient city in the north, and have been charmed by the sights, life and atmosphere of this old-world capital, the news will come as something of a shock, while we could well imagine that the members of the various foreign legations and other foreign residents in Peking itself will receive it with feelings akin to consternation.

The Chinese, on the other hand, with the exception, perhaps, of the Chihli people, will undoubtedly hail the transference with satisfaction, for Nanking to them is much more the capital of China than Peking has ever been.

Nevertheless, Peking, or Peiping, as it is now styled by decree of the Nationalist Government, in many ways far surpasses Nanking as a capital city. Its numerous magnificent palaces, mighty temples and well laid out parks far out-rank any-

thing that the southern capital has to show; while the fact that for centuries, all through the period of Manchu dominance, as well as during the latter part of the Ming Dynasty, a period of high culture in many ways and picturesque ceremonial in court and official circles, it has been the seat of government, affording hospitality to the representatives of foreign governments in the Legation Quarter, has created an atmosphere of romance, a sort of glamour, an almost mediaeval remoteness, that has rendered it unique amongst the capitals of the world. Nanking, on the other hand, while it has had its history, and has seen days of glory, pomp and majesty, has practically nothing to compare with the palaces, temples and even modern government buildings of Peking. Nothing but crumbling ruins now exist, where once stood the palaces of princes, not even picturesque ruins, but mere flat heaps of rubble and crumbling brick.

### Brains—How Come ?

Nothing can be more engrossing in interest and perhaps more baffling in ultimate solution than the above question which *Evolution* seeks to answer as follows :

His better brain makes man supreme over the other animals. The gap is wide between him and his nearest rival, so wide that even some scientists once took exception here to the theory of evolution. They admitted the probability of physical evolution; but surely that wonderful thing, the human mind, must have been specially created and implanted. Just how, they did not explain. Perhaps, at bottom, this reaction was not reasoned, but rather the prejudice of pride with demanded for superior man superior origins and graces. Nevertheless, there is a real problem here, the problem of how man got that way. The modern scientific answer is that man's hands made his brains.

Man's close relatives have all died out, but some second cousins, the anthropoid (man-like) apes still live. For mere animals, they have pretty good brains, stand almost humanly erect and have hands and use them. We shall find that hands make brains, so they might well be getting somewhere if man had not beaten them to it and crowded them off the high road. Now they haven't a chance.

But they do have the family look. Just compare them with some of the old family portraits we have dug up. We really had to dig for them, these portraits, for the family album is the earth itself and the portraits are the fossil bones we have found. It must be confessed that the earliest grandfather of them all, old *Pithecanthropus Erectus* of Java, was an unlovely low-brow. He was not an ape, oh no, but he certainly had the marks. In the scale of brains, he stood right between the ape below and ourselves above.

But just how did man get his brains? Well, he just happened to get the right training. Then too, Nature gave him several good boosts. His hands, however, can take most of the credit. With hands he handless things, examines them, does things to them. He always learns best by doing. He learned reality by doing, for it really works. Apply an idea and you test it. If it is true, it



works: if false, it fails. Man got his truths that way. As he does his doing with his hands, he got his truths through his hands.

### Our Double Heredity

Jesse H. Holmes reminds in *Unity* the 'double heredity' of man—a rational side and a material or animal side of his existence:

In spite of pseudo-science and pseudo-metaphysics everyone knows that in some sense he is both mind and body and that at one time or another either may be the dominant partner. It is a pity we cannot stop here, but it is impossible; for another feature of this self-complex turns up in a capacity we have of evaluating the demands of mind and body. This demands a third person of the personal trinity who is by no means wholly impartial, but is, I think, on the whole a just judge. It pronounces for the claims of the body when hungry, thirsty, or tired; against it when experience shows that its demands are not for its own best interests. Also it decides for the mind in its search for understanding, in its struggle for clear vision, in its efforts to plan effective futures. Moreover it selects the mind as the more important element, to which the body must yield in the cases where their interests conflict. It is not an infallible judge, for it may be overinfluenced and even carried away by bodily passions, or by exaggerated mind-vanities which condemn the body as essentially evil. This seems to me at least one way of helpfully viewing the "self" for practical purposes; and in considering this trinity I think there is much more danger of confusion in "confounding the persons" than in "dividing the substance."

### Christianity and Evolution

Professor Lewis G. Westgate, writing in the *Current History*, does not forget the point of the above writer; but in evolution he sees a truer aid to the religious belief. Concludes the professor.

Science gives valued support to intelligent religious belief. Science teaches that we live in a world of law, in a dependable world. And we are coming to see not only that the world of nature apart from man is a dependable world, but that our human world as well is a dependable social and moral order. What a man sows that shall he also reap. This conception is fundamental to religion.

Science makes a second and not less important contribution to religious belief in evolution. Evolution is not only not in conflict with essential Christianity, it is the strongest support which science can give to the spiritual interpretation of the world and so to religion. Evolution includes plants and animals below man and man himself; not only his body, but his mind and spirit as well—his total personality. As body and mind evolve together (we know not how) in the development of

each individual, so they have evolved together (again we know not how) in the history of the race and of life. Through millions of years life has been developing, producing in succession the higher groups of animals. Through several hundreds of thousands of years mankind has been developing through half-human ancestors, through savagery and barbarism to civilized man at his best as we know him today; to Isaiah, Socrates, Paul, Savonarola, Shakespeare, to the countless men and women who in their limited spheres are living helpful, courageous constructive lives and aiding in the onward march of humanity. The whole process is a unity. It can be judged only when one sees the end, or enough of it to get some idea of the end. Different people will interpret in the different ways, and there is much about it that we cannot, perhaps never can, understand. Some are saying that it came about by the chance concurrence of atoms, in a purely mechanical way, with no intelligence behind it. Some of us cannot take this view of it, cannot look at this long result of time and believe that it took place without a directing intelligence behind it, an intelligence akin to our own but vastly greater, and conscious of the direction and meaning of the whole process. The stream cannot rise higher than its source. If at the end we find moral and spiritual values, they would seem to imply an intelligence caring for moral and spiritual values. But this is to make the universe spiritual and not material, to conserve religious values, I know perfectly well that this is faith, not knowledge, philosophy, not science. But no thinking scientist no thinking human being, can avoid becoming at times a philosopher. It is not a question of becoming a philosopher but of what kind of a philosopher one shall become.

The critical and pressing problem today is: Is this world spiritual? Does it conserve personal spiritual values, or is it indifferent to all that man holds dearest? The doctrine of evolution, proposed first in the field of biology to explain the origin of species and since extended to cover the origin of the earth and of the solar system, of the stars, and of man, both body and personality, offers a definite contribution to the solution of this problem in a way that can help religious belief.

### How a German Servant Girl Spends her Money

It is interesting to learn from *Frankfurter Zeitung* (reproduced in *The Living Age*) how a German cook spends her money.

Some idea of what this 1928 German servant girl is like can be gained from a knowledge of how she spends her money. A correspondent sends to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* the following expense schedule of a twenty-old German cook:

One pair of silk stockings.....	\$1.36
One chemise.....G.....	.23
One pair horn-rimmed spectacles (without glass).....	2.02
One comb.....	.07
One pair knickers.....	.23



Two detective stories.....	42
Monthly installment on cookery book.....	30
One ring with fancy stone.....	36
Lipstick, scent, and powder.....	143

The German servant girl is modernizing herself according to what she believes from the American films she sees, to be the best American tradition. She put silk stockings on her legs, that they may be displayed to as good advantage as the legs of the film stars; she watches her appearance carefully, paints and powders, spends little on undergarments not exposed to the gaze of friends and passers-by; she is literary to the extent of reading detective stories in addition to cook books and, to increase the intellectual impression which is reported to have a strong effect on the German equivalent of the American boy friend, she wears horn-rimmed spectacles, even though in her case she does not go to the needless expense of having lenses put in them.

The cook seems to be no way worse off than many an Indian College boy.

### Provision for the 'Teachers' Dependents

In considering the retirement system for the teachers in U. S. A., the *Monthly Labour Review* (July) offers to our teachers, who are organising themselves as well as to the employees of the other public-service department, some very useful suggestions which they may examine for their own benefit. Provision for dependents differs in the different States as follows:

Eight of the State systems—Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin—provide that at the time of retirement the employee may choose one of several options, either taking a straight allowance to be continued through his life, or choosing a smaller allowance, part or all of which is to be continued after his death to some selected beneficiary, or receiving some other actuarial equivalent of the total amount credited to him. In case of the death of a contributor before reaching pensionable status Maryland and Wisconsin give death benefits. The other 10 systems make no provision for dependents.

Among the city systems, New York, Minneapolis, and the New York Board of Education provide options at the time of retirement. Under the Minneapolis system if a member dies in service the amount of the city's deposits to his credit, with interest, is paid as a death benefit. New York gives six months' salary as a death benefit if the decedent had qualified for retirement, and the Board of Education system gives the same amount if a member dies in the service from ordinary causes. If, however, the death was due to injury received in the service, a pension of one-half the average annual salary for the last five years is given to the widow, dependent children, or dependent parent. The other systems make no provision for dependents of either contributors or pensioners, though in Milwaukee and in Washington if a pensioner dies before he has drawn benefits to

the amount of his own contributions to the fund the difference will be returned to his heirs.

### The Eleventh International Labour Conference

The conclusions in brief of the Eleventh International Labour Conference that met at Geneva from 30 May to 16 June to consider the questions of minimum wage and industrial accidents are reproduced below from the *International Labour Review* :—

The Eleventh Session of the Conference may be said to have closed on a general note of optimism. There was every justification for this since the Conference brought its work to a successful conclusion. It adopted a Convention and a Recommendation on Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery, thus laying down the lines of the future work of the International Labour Organisation on the question of wage regulation.

As far as the question of accident prevention was concerned, the Conference decided to place on the agenda of the 1929 Session the general problem of accident prevention and the special questions relating to the safety of workers engaged in loading and unloading ships. Here again the work was accomplished without any very serious difficulty. The incidents which arose during the discussion of the question relating to work in ports were closed by a compromise which left no room for misunderstanding. The solution adopted on the question of accidents due to couplings on railways is only an interim one, but it is nevertheless a solution accepted by the principal parties concerned. Moreover, the period of waiting will be passed in an active and not in a passive way, since the Conference proposes that a permanent committee representing all three groups of the International Labour Organisation shall be set up to follow the technical development of the question until it comes up for discussion again. Thus, the Conference arrived at definite solutions on all the subjects on its official agenda.

### Sacco-Vanzetti—Crime

"The Nation" of New York (Aug. 22, 1928) in a call for action reopens the story of the lamentable crime of statecraft of which a year ago the two unfortunate persons were the victims. Particularly noteworthy and reprehensible is the following aspect of the affair:

Probably the aspect of the case which to most people seemed especially unjust was that in the entire six years that intervened between their trial and their execution, and in spite of the appeals to various courts, Sacco and Vanzetti were never able to obtain a reexamination of the evidence upon which the jury convicted them of murder.



All appeals had to be based on errors of law. A reexamination of the evidence was possible only through a new trial to be obtained by order of the judge who had presided at the first one. The obstinacy and prejudice of Judge Webster Thayer in refusing a new trial sent the prisoners to the electric chair without ever a chance for a reinvestigation of a chain of testimony, some of which was outrageous nonsense and all of which was passed upon in the hysterical year of 1921 by a jury hot with passion against foreigners and cold with fear of radicals. After the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti Governor Fuller himself recommended amendment of the Massachusetts law so that in capital cases the right of appeal should carry with it the power to reexamine the evidence as well as the legal procedure. A bill was drawn which in this respect would have placed Massachusetts beside New York, but it was allowed to die.

### Inventor of the Color Camera

The real inventor of some worthy attainment is hardly known to the public, who cheer the head or apparent leader. *The Nation* in examining the summer 'spasm of progress' cheers such an inventor:

Television by Radio, gas bullets that can be fired around corners, practical color cameras, three kinds of talking motion pictures, automatic repairing machines for silk stockings—we are dizzy with the multitude and variety of inventions that have been announced in the last few weeks. The summer of 1928 should be remembered in history as a continuous spasm of progress. The surprising thing about most of these inventions is the anonymity of the inventors. We remember Stephenson and Morse and Bell; our children will see their pictures in the school-books for many generations. But what name emerges from the brilliant summer of 1928 as immortal? The average American could not mention a single name as associated with any of the recent great inventions. Yes, perhaps he could mention one name, that of George Eastman in connection with the color camera. But who invented the color camera? Not Mr. Eastman or even the able head of his research laboratories, Dr. C. E. Kenneth Mees. The inventor was a man who spent ten years in the Eastman laboratories studying color photography. His name is John G. Capstaff. Three cheers for Capstaff!

### Talking Robots

We learn from an interesting article reproduced by *The Literary Digest* August

18. that the mechanical man can now talk back. We read.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MECHANICAL MAN has taken a further step, we are told by a writer in the *New York Times*. Formerly it could do nothing but hear and obey. Now it can talk back. The Televox was hailed as the perfect employee when it was first invented by R. J. Wensley of the Westinghouse Company, because it could obey orders, and do nothing else. It could not even speak when spoken to. Now, the writer says, the inventor has endowed it with words. He continues:

"When it is hailed over the telephone it responds in a well modulated and deferential voice.

"Televox speaking."

"It can even imitate a conversation. If something goes wrong, for instance, at a power substation where the Televox is on duty, it can lift the receiver and say:

"This is the televox calling for Main 5000."

"When the televox is connected with that number the conversation will continue in buzzer code. The man at headquarters will ask by interrogatory buzzes what is wrong and the televox will reply in the same form, one, two, or three buzzes, of a combination of buzzes, each meaning something different.

"In place of vocal cords the mechanical man has had a talking film introduced among its organs. The words to be spoken are recorded by photography on a film and introduced into the physiology of the man that was born in a laboratory.

"An English-speaking race of machines is now being reared by the Westinghouse Company to substitute for watchman in power substations where the information to be transmitted is not complicated. Adjustments are made so that a break in the electrical current in one place causes a set-up in the machine which reports that fact. A break elsewhere causes a different set-up and a different report.

"A particularly human touch was introduced by the inventor, who had started the talking career of his electrical young men by furnishing them with language in which to complain about the weather. They have adjusted so that they can call up headquarters and report. 'It's hot' or 'It's cold. This information is of value as a warning because too much heat or cold is dangerous to the engine.

"The first three members of the mechanical race—famously known as 'Adam,' 'Cain,' and 'Abel,' Eve being omitted because the automatic kingdom has not been divided into two factions—are on duty in Washington as employees of the War Department, assigned to report on the condition of the city's water supply. Adam, Cain and Abel furnish daily bulletins on the amount of water in each reservoir.



# INDIAN Womanhood



The All-India Leaders' Conference at Lucknow has done well by nominating SHIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU as India's ambassador to America for replying to the vile and inspired propaganda by interested people against Indians in general, and India's womanhood in particular. Early in 1924 Mrs. Naidu

ed calumniators against Indians and dispel the ignorance of average Americans regarding India's culture and civilisation.



Mrs. Sarojini Naidu



Mrs. Sriram Bhagirath Ammal

went to South Africa on a mission on behalf of the oppressed Indians and rendered great service to the Overseas Indians. We think no better selection could have been made this time too, as by her culture and erudition she is the most suitable person to be entrusted with this noble mission. We hope she will give a smashing rejoinder to interest-

MISS AMIYA GANGULI of Dacca, a girl of ten, was awarded several special prizes for her success in the recent Two Miles Swimming Race at Dacca. His Excellency the Governor gave away the prizes.



Miss. MANORAMA, of Vizagpatam is the first Oriya lady to come out successful in the recent S. S. L. C. Examination conducted by the Madras government. She comes off a poor family and is now a student of the college classes in the Mrs. A. V. N. College, Vizagpatam. Her school career was



Mrs. Raghava Ammal

equally brilliant—she having won some certificates and medals of distinction in music, knitting, and for general proficiency.

MRS. SRIRAM BHAGIRATH AMMAL has just been appointed as a member of the Chingleput District Educational Council (Madras Presidency).

MRS. RAGAVA AMMAL and MRS. AMRITH AMMAL (a lady belonging to the Adi-Dravida community) have been nominated as municipal councillors at Vellore and Chidamburam respectively.

We print in this issue a photograph of SRIMATI SANTISUDHA GHOSE about whose academic



Mrs. Amrith Ammal



Miss Manorama





Srimati Santisudha Ghose



Miss Amiya Ganguli

distinctions we referred to in *the Modern Review* for August.

## RAM MOHUN ROY ON INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP

[The letters printed below have been sent to us for publication by Mr. Brajendranath Banerji, who is well-known for his researches among old records. In the communication to the Foreign Minister of France, the reader will find the principle underlying the League of Nations, with its international court of justice, anticipated by Raja Ram Mohun Roy. His belief in the unity of mankind, referred to by Rabindranath Tagore in his centenary address on the Raja, published in our last issue, receives a fresh illustration in this communication. All these show how much in advance of his age he was.—Editor, *The Modern Review*]

To

T. Hyde Villiers, Esq.,  
Secretary to the India Board

Sir,

India having providentially been placed

under the care of the Board of Control, I feel necessarily induced to have recourse to that authority when occasion requires. I, therefore, hope you will excuse the intrusion I make with the following lines.

I am informed that for the purpose of visiting France it is necessary to be provided with a passport and that before granting it, the French Ambassador must be furnished with an account of the applicant.

Such restrictions against foreigners are not observed even among the Nations of Asia (China excepted). However, their observance by France may perhaps be justified on the ground that she is surrounded by Governments entirely despotic on



three sides and by nations kept down merely by the bayonet or by religious delusion.

In the event of my applying to Prince Talleyrand for a passport I beg to know whether I shall be justified in referring to you in your official capacity as to my character. All that I can say for myself is, that I am a traveller and that my heart is with the French people in their endeavours to support the cause of liberal principles.

Sir Francis Burdett, at Mr. Byng's, liberally and spontaneously offered to give me a letter of introduction to General Lafayette, but this will not, I think, serve my purpose on my first landing in France.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
RAM MOHUN ROY.

London, 48 Bedford Sq.

Decr. 22nd, 1831.

To

Hyde Villiers, Esq.,

Secretary to Board of Commissioners  
for the Affairs of India.

Sir,

I have the honor to receive your letter of the 27th instant and I beg to offer my warm acknowledgements to the Board for their attention to my application of the 23rd of this month.

I beg to be permitted to add that, as I intimated to the Board my intention of eventually applying to the French Ambassador resident in London for a passport for France, I now deem it proper to submit to you for the information of the Board a copy of an intended communication from me to the Foreign Minister of France, the result of which I shall await before I apply to the French Ambassador.

Unless I have the honor to hear from you that such an address would be irregular and unconstitutional, I shall forward it to a friend in Paris to be presented in due form.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,  
RAM MOHUN ROY

London

December 28th, 1831.

[Endorsed]

28 December, 1831.

Rajah Ram Mohun Roy

Transg. copy of an intended com-

munication to the Foreign Minister  
of France.

Private note from Mr Villiers to  
Ram Mohun Roy, Jan. 4, 1832.

To

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of France,  
Paris.

Sir,

You may be surprised at receiving a letter from a Foreigner, the Native of a country situated many thousand miles from France, and I assuredly would not now have trespassed on your attention, were I not induced by a sense of what I consider due to myself and by the respect I feel towards a country standing in the foremost rank of free and civilized nations.

2nd. For twelve years past I have entertained a wish (as noticed, I think, in several French and English Periodicals) to visit a country so favoured by nature and so richly adorned by the cultivation of the arts and sciences, and above all blessed by the possession of a free constitution. After surmounting many difficulties interposed by religious and national distinctions and other circumstances, I am at last opposite your coast, where, however, I am informed that I must not place my foot on your territory unless I previously solicit and obtain an express permission for my entrance from the Ambassador or Minister of France in England.

3rd. Such a regulation is quite unknown even among the Nations of Asia. (though extremely hostile to each other from religious prejudices and political dissensions), with the exception of China, a country noted for its extreme jealousy of foreigners and apprehensions of the introduction of new customs and ideas. I am, therefore, quite at a loss to conceive how it should exist among a people so famed as the French are for courtesy and liberality in all other matters.

4th. It is now generally admitted that not religion only but unbiassed common sense as well as the accurate deductions of scientific research lead to the conclusion that all mankind are one great family of which the numerous nations and tribes existing are only various branches. Hence enlightened men in all countries must feel a wish to encourage and facilitate human intercourse in every manner by removing as far as possible all impediments to it in order to



promote the reciprocal advantage and enjoyment of the whole human race.

5th. It may perhaps be urged that during the existence of war and hostile feelings between any two nations (arising probably from their not understanding their real interests), policy requires of them to adopt these precautions against each other. This, however, only applies to a state of warfare. If France, therefore, were at war with surrounding nations or regarded their people as dangerous, the motive for such an extraordinary precaution might have been conceived.

6th. But as a general peace has existed in Europe for many years, and there is more particularly so harmonious an understanding between the people of France and England and even between their present Governments, I am utterly at a loss to discover the cause of a regulation which manifests, to say the least, a want of cordiality and confidence on the part of France.

7th. Even during peace the following excuses might perhaps be offered for the continuance of such restrictions, though in my humble opinion they cannot stand a fair examination.

*First*: If it be said that persons of bad character should not be allowed to enter France: still it might, I presume, be answered that the granting of passports by the French Ambassador here is not usually founded on certificates of character or investigation into the conduct of individuals. Therefore, it does not provide a remedy for that supposed evil.

*Secondly*: If it be intended to prevent felons escaping from justice: this case seems well-provided for by the treaties between different nations for the surrender of all criminals.

*Thirdly*: If it be meant to obstruct the flight of debtors from their creditors: in this respect likewise it appears superfluous, as the bankrupt laws themselves after a short imprisonment set the debtor free even in his own country; therefore, voluntary exile from his own country would be, I conceive, a greater punishment.

*Fourthly*: If it be intended to apply to political matters, it is in the first place not

applicable to my case. But on general grounds I beg to observe that it appears to me the ends of constitutional government might be better attained by submitting every matter of political difference between two countries to a Congress composed of an equal number from the Parliament of each; the decision of the majority to be acquiesced in by both nations and the Chairman to be chosen by each Nation alternately, for one year, and the place of meeting to be one year within the limits of one country and next within those of the other; such as at Dover and Calais for England and France.

8th. By such a Congress all matters of difference, whether political or commercial, affecting the Natives of any two civilized countries with constitutional Governments, might be settled amicably and justly to the satisfaction of both and profound peace and friendly feelings might be preserved between them from generation to generation.

9th. I do not dwell on the inconvenience which the system of passports imposes in urgent matters of business and in cases of domestic affliction. But I may be permitted to observe that the mere circumstance of applying for a passport seems a tacit admission that the character of the applicant stands in need of such a certificate or testimonial before he can be permitted to pass unquestioned. Therefore, any one may feel some delicacy in exposing himself to the possibility of a refusal which would lead to an inference unfavourable to his character as a peaceable citizen.

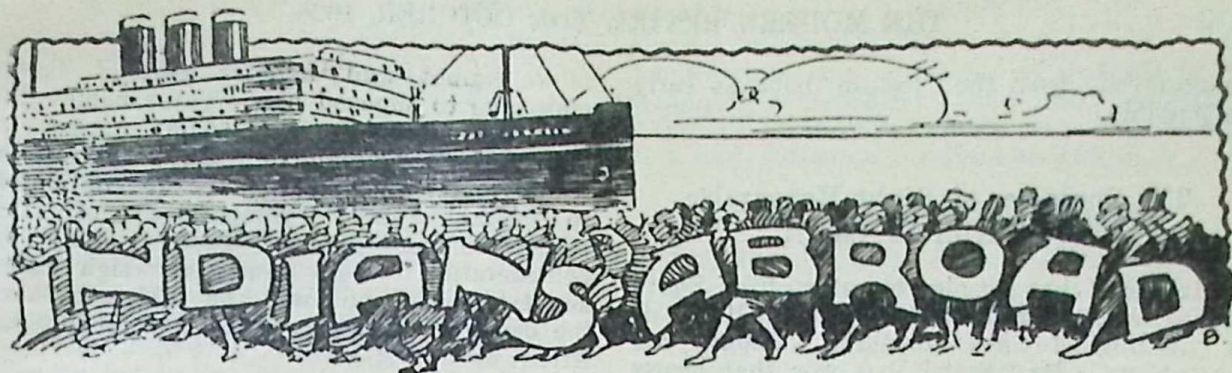
My desire, however, to visit that country is so great that I shall conform to such conditions as are imposed on me, if the French Government, after taking the subject into consideration, judge it proper and expedient to continue restrictions contrived for a different state of things, but to which they may have become reconciled by long habit; as I should be sorry to set up my opinion against that of the present enlightened Government of France.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,  
Sd. RAM MOHUN ROY





By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

### Overcrowding on Board the 'Coolie' Steamers :—

Newspapers have published to-day the following news from Durban :—

Durban, Sept. 25.  
Twenty-four Indians died on board repatriation ship "Sutlej" which called here on a voyage from George Town.

The "Sutlej" has seven hundred and seventy-five Indians on board and these were employed at George Town as indentured labour on sugar plantations.—"Reuter."

It is a pathetic news, the full significance of which has not been understood by our papers. There is a barbaric rule—a relic of the old Indenture days—according to which so much space is allowed to the labourers on board the 'coolie,' ships and though the indenture system has been abolished this rule still continues to hold good and consequently there is very much overcrowding on these steamers. Last time S. S. the Sutlej brought to Calcutta more than 900 persons from Fiji—all packed up like animals. I interviewed Honourable Badri Maharaj and Mr. Gopendra Narayan, who returned by that steamer, about this question and they bitterly complained against overcrowding on board the Sutlej. Now comes the news that twenty four Indians returning from British Guiana have died on board the same Steamer. Who is responsible for these deaths? The Government of India or the British India Steam Navigation Company? Imagine the case of those poor people, who were deceived and sent away to British Guiana under indenture and who were returning to their Motherland after a long period but who died in the way on board the steamer. The cable has been sent from Durban and the Sutlej has still to make a voyage of 20

days more. We are therefore afraid that some more death may take place before she reaches her destination. It is the duty of the Government of India to enquire into



Prabhu Singh in S. Africa

this case immediately after the arrival of the steamer. The inhuman regulations which allow this overcrowding ought to



be removed from the statute book as early as possible.

### The Successor of Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri

Mr. Sastri has decided to return from South Africa in the beginning of the year 1929. It is needless to say anything about his work there. Mr. Sastri has won the hearts of our people in South Africa by his great generosity, wonderful eloquence, perfect manners and above all his unaffected humility. A combination of these qualities of head and heart is very rare indeed and even India cannot produce two Sastris at a time. Now that he is coming away to the Motherland we have to consider the question of his



Prabhu Singh as at present

successor. Unfortunately none of our first class leaders can be spared at this time and what is still more regrettable most of them do not take any interest in the problems of Indians abroad. One thing is certain and that

is we cannot find another man of Sastri's eminence to succeed him. Three names have been suggested by some papers, Sir Mohammad Habibullah, Mr. Jayakar and Kunwar Maharaj Singh. We do not intend to make any comparison of their respective qualifications. There is only one consideration which must overweigh others and that is, who will be able to serve the cause of our people most of all in South Africa at this stage.

From this point of view the choice of Kunwar Maharaj Singh will be decidedly the best under the circumstances. Kunwar Saheb was sent by the Government of India to Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad, Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar and Tanganyika and he did his work in these colonies to the great satisfaction of our compatriots abroad. The dignified reply which he gave to Sir Edward Grigg's unfortunate utterance at Nairobi will not be forgotten by the latter for a long time to come. It was to a great extent due to the efforts of Kunwar Saheb and his friend Mr. Ewbank that our countrymen in East Africa could show a united front at the time of the Hilton Young Commission. Kunwar Saheb's speeches in Mauritius went a great way to bring about unity among our people in that colony and that gave an appreciable help in the election of two of our countrymen to the Legislative Council. His report about Mauritius was an admirable document. There is another gentleman in the Government of India whose services to our people abroad must be mentioned here and he is Sir G. L. Corbett. Sir. Corbett's despatches about South and East Africa and his part in preparing the Fiji report, which has been suppressed by the Government of India, will always be remembered with gratitude by our people. He can certainly be expected to defend our rights in S. Africa and were it not for the reason that we want an Indian to go to South Africa at this time, Sir Corbett's choice would have been as good as that of any Indian.

There is one thing more in favour of Kunwar Saheb. He is an educationist and our people in South Africa will receive great help from him in connection with their educational schemes. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will select him to succeed the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri.



### Indian Question in Kenya

In view of the fact that conversations were going on between some of our leaders in Kenya and some reasonable Europeans in that colony regarding some sort of settlement of the Indian question, we think it necessary to give some definite opinion on this subject. We should urge it upon our countrymen in Kenya to keep before their eyes the following fundamental principles affecting the Indian position there :—

(a) There must be no encroachment at all by any immigrant community upon Native Reserves or Native rights in land.

(b) There must be no racial segregation as between immigrant communities in any shape or form by statute or regulation. Where such racial differentiation exists steps must be taken, as occasion arises, to substitute for it legislation or regulations of a non-racial character. This involves, for example, that Indians cannot on principle recognise the reservation of the highland area for exclusively white settlement or of any portion of the lowland area for exclusively Indian settlement. In practice it is highly probable that almost no non-white settlers will desire to settle in the highlands and that almost no white settlers will desire to settle in the other non-reserved areas. Theoretically, there should be the right of any community, including the Natives, to acquire land for settlement purposes in any part of the non-native areas of the Colony.

(c) There can be no recognition of communal franchise. The common franchise is essential. If an agreement is come to, for a term of years, that there shall be so many seats reserved for Europeans and so many seats reserved for non-Europeans, it must be made clear that at the end of this agreed period the position is automatically reopened, so that the relative number of seats reserved to any community is kept elastic, and may be modified according to the then existing situation. It is especially necessary to avoid the setting up of any standardised numerical proportions, or the treating of such numerical proportions as may first be agreed upon as a precedent.

(d) The door must, so long as immigration is at all permitted to the Colony, be kept effectively open for Indian immigration.

(e) Nothing must be done to compromise

or jeopardise the position of Indians in the adjoining territories or the principles guiding Indian policy regarding the emigration and settlement of Indians abroad.

### The Case of Prabhu Singh

The Indian public ought to be grateful to Swami Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi of Jacobs (Natal) South Africa for bringing to their notice the case of a Bihari gentleman who did very creditable service to the British Government during the Boer War, but whose services



The Choga presented to Prabhu Singh  
by Lady Curzon

have not been properly appreciated either by the Indian public or by the Government up to this time. Here is an account of Prabhu Singh and his memorable work during the Boer War.

Prabhu Singh, is an inhabitant of Bhabua in the Province of Bihar. In the year 1896, owing to a quarrel with his brother he left home and got himself recruited as an indentured labourer and was sent to Natal. Here he was employed by the Dundee Coal Company and served them nearly for three



years, when the Boer War broke out on 12th October, 1899. General Joubert advanced with a force of 20,000 men towards Ladysmith, the strong-hold of the British, and took possession of the Coal fields. The Indians that were serving there, were sent away towards Johannesburg in a railway train to serve the Boers. At night fall some 500 of them managed to escape under the leadership of Prabhu Singh and reached the town of Ladysmith before it was besieged. They were admitted by the late Colonel Sir George White and were given work. Prabhu Singh with 26 others was appointed to serve the Scotch Regiment No. 7, the work allotted to him being to guard provisions. By this time the Boers had besieged the town of Ladysmith and placed their heavy guns on the North and North-East of the Town. On the Umbulwana Hill was placed a huge gun which carried a 96lb shell and was named by the British soldiers "Long Tom." The pieces of this shell falling in the town created havoc. Sir George White, with all his troops, made a sortie from the town to dislodge the Boers from their possession on the hills but it proved unsuccessful. Bags containing earth and sand were heaped one upon the other and thus a shelter of some sort was made for the soldiers. One day while ration was being distributed and Prabhu Singh was on his watch duty, a shell came from the Hill. The sergeant and the soldiers went under the heap of bags crying to Prabhu Singh to do the same; but the fearless Rajput did not move from his post. The shell passing over his head went beyond the town and fell in the water of the river. The Saheb asked Prabhu Singh if he was not afraid of his life and he boldly replied "Why should I be afraid Saheb? I shall go to Baikunth (Heaven) with the shell if my death is come, otherwise I will throw off the shell with my stick." The matter was reported to the high military officer and Prabhu Singh was appointed to stand on a high place with the Union Jack in his hand and give timely warning to all to take shelter. This he did by waving the flag and crying aloud the word "Basab" in his peculiarly thrilling tone. The siege lasted for three months and provisions ran short. Horses and asses had to be killed for food and for a month Prabhu Singh had to live on four ounces of maize powder a day, but the brave man never shrank from his self imposed duties.

In the end the besieging army having been defeated and their General Cronjee, taken a prisoner, Ladysmith was released by Lord Kitchner. There was great jubilation and thanks-giving at the time and Prabhu Singh was recipient of all the praise and honour that he was so nobly entitled to. "The Review and Critic," the then leading weekly of Durban published articles eulogizing the brave deeds of the hero. The proprietors of the said paper announced two classes of awards, first and second, represented by silver and brown medals respectively to be called "Critic Heroes Medals." They were to be awarded to any two men who were found after due investigation deserving on account of conspicuous bravery and heroism. All classes were to be equally eligible for this. The fact of their decision was published in the paper dated 6th October, 1900 as follows:—

The Silver Medal  
(First Class) is presented to  
"Prabhu Singh"

"The Editor has decided that the first Critic hero medal for conspicuous bravery shall go to Prabhu Singh, his bravery is fully explained in the following extract from a contemporary.

"During the siege of Ladysmith, Prabhu Singh acted as a guard of property and on the firing of the big guns on Umbulwana he warned the garrison with a flag and enabled them to take cover. In this way he no doubt saved many lives. Prabhu Singh put himself in a position of danger and endeavoured to save white men as much as possible. So faithful was this brave man in his duty that not in a single instance did he fail to warn the garrison of the firing of the enemies' guns.

"The Editor thinks that all the readers of the Critic will agree that this man has nobly earned by his conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty the first Critic Hero's Medal. If it is possible the presentation will be made in public. The inscription on the Medal will be 'Presented to Prabhu Singh in recognition of his bravery during the siege of Ladysmith, when he signalled, from an exposed position, the firing of the Boer Guns on Umbulwana.' The clasp will bear the date '1899-1900.'"

The Medal was not ready when the hero left the colony hence it could not actually





(Photo by Lieut. J. F. Forbes, Gordon's)

## THE SIGNAL TO SEEK SHELTER.

A Hindoo, on a heap of flour bags, announcing with a flag the firing of a shell from "Long Tom." Gordon's getting into shelter

be presented to him, nor has it been handed over to him up to now.

Sir George White specially mentioned Prabhu Singh's name in one of his speeches in England which attracted the notice of Lady Curzon, who was graciously pleased to send a Choga to be presented to him.

Prabhu Singh came out to India in December 1900 with a letter of introduction from Mahatma Gandhi to Shriyut Surendra Nath Banerjee. In this letter Mahatmajee had asked Mr. Banerjee to make an arrangement so that Prabhu Singh might pay his respects personally to Lady Curzon and also to the Viceroy.

Swami Bhawani Dayal writes :—

"Prabhu Singh left the Colony in December 1900 and reached Calcutta but as ill-luck would have it, he was not aware of the contents of Mahatmajee's letter to Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and did not know that it had been arranged that he could see the Viceroy and

place his case before His Excellency. He had no friend with him who could guide him in this matter. The result was that he came home with 90 guineas only, a major part of which was his own earning in the coal fields. He married and led the life of a simple cultivator. He is a little over 60 years now and a penniless man. He has to support a family of 5 or 6 souls with very little income from cultivation. Prabhu Singh, who was highly applauded and admired both by the Government and his fellow subjects (Indians and Europeans) for his fearless courage and selfless service, is now reduced to the condition of a miserable wretch for want of proper food and clothing for himself and his children.

This is in short the story of the saviour of Ladysmith, the siege of which lasted for 3 months."

We draw the attention of the Government of India to the case of Prabhu Singh and request them to help him in his hour of need. It is their duty to do so.





# NOTES

## New Marathi Historical Records

Vinayak Lakshman Bhave, who died on 12th September, 1926, was best known as the author of the standard History of Marathi Literature and editor of the most scholarly text of the saint Tukaram's hymns. He was also a keen student of Marathi history, as his pamphlets on various episodes of the Shivaji period and his edition of the *Shedgaonkar Bhonsle Bakhar* show. We are glad that his son L. V. Bhave of Talabpali, (Thana P. O.) has just published the last work on which this scholar was engaged, under the name of *Marathi Daftar, Rimal Third* (Rs. 2-8). It contains a detailed chronology of Shivaji and 230 historical letters,—out of which 23 belong to Shivaji's times and 204 were addressed mostly to Ali Bahadur, the founder of the Nawab family of Banda (Bundelkhand), who died in 1802. They are invaluable for the light they throw on the political and social conditions of Poona between 1786 and 1800.

## "O' Dwyer is Murderer"

London, Sept. 24.

Uproarious scenes were witnessed at Brotherhood Church in North London when Sir Michael O'Dwyer rose and attempted to give an address on India. Members of the audience stood up, shouted and unfurled placards bearing the words, "O'Dwyer is murderer." "Murdering English workers." Sir Michael O'Dwyer realised the futility of proceeding and left the platform.—*Reuter*.

Among Anglo-Indian and British diehards Sir Michael O'Dwyer enjoys the reputation of having been the saviour of the British Empire in India. Has he now earned the honorific title of 'murderer' for his work in India, or for his anti-Labour opinions in England?

## Public Safety Bill

In the Legislative Assembly, there were 61 votes for and 61 against the Government motion for consideration of the Public Safety Bill. It was defeated by the casting vote of President Patel, who observed:—

"If any individual member seeks to place such an extraordinary measure on the Statute Book, he must convince the House and get the majority in his own favour. The Home Member has failed to secure a clear majority in his favour and cannot expect the Chair to give his casting vote in favour of the motion for consideration."

Even *The Statesman* supports his action by observing:—

It is not to be imagined that the PRESIDENT rejoiced in the responsibility that accident had placed upon him. His decision was determined for him by convention and tradition. A Speaker or President uses his casting vote to maintain the *status quo*, so that the matter at issue may be brought before the House again. Legislation by casting vote would be an anomaly; it is too much to expect of one man, placed in an office of which impartiality is demanded, that he should by his own word make changes in the rights of citizens or visitors. Mr. PATEL was loyal to the proprieties of his office.

"Warm and eloquent tributes are paid by the party leaders to the unofficial whips, especially Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra and Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, to whose untiring zeal and energy the unofficial victory is largely due."

Regarding the consequences of the rejection of the Bill, the Chowringhee paper writes:—

So as legislators have refused to give Government the power of simple deportation over undesirable Englishmen, it will have to take other measures. Under the Foreigners' Act of 1870 it already possesses full powers where foreigners are concerned, but it is understood that the particular Red agents it has in mind at present are British. There seems nothing left to do but to accept the advice tendered by the Opposition and proceed under Regulation Three of 1818. In that case those proceeded against will hardly feel grateful to their Simla champions. Discretion is the better



part of valour and if we were the evangelists in question we should take the next boat.

Indians regard both Britishers and other aliens as foreigners. But it seems the Foreigners' Act of 1870 is meant for the special benefit of non-British foreigners. Hence, according to the Chowringhee paper, the Public Safety Bill was proposed for the summary removal from India of undesirable Britishers. But the same paper says that they can be proceeded against under Regulation Three of 1818. Therefore, by taking action under either the Foreigners' Act of 1870 or Regulation Three of 1818, foreigners hailing from any country can be removed summarily from India. Where, then, was the necessity for a new law? under whatever law brought about, deportation is deportation. So why should British deportees not feel "grateful" for being proceeded against under Regulation III of 1818?—Perhaps British white men would consider it derogatory to their whitemanly to be dealt with according to a Regulation which has been usually resorted to to punish men of a subject race!

### "Colour Bar after Death!"

*The Week*, Roman Catholic organ of Bombay, writes:—

The length to which racial animosity can go is proved by an occurrence which we would have deemed unbelievable, had we not the authority of the St. Louis *Centralblatt* (of April) for it. It appears that in a place of Georgia, called Meldrim, an old servant, Marie G. Underwood, "a colored woman," died and that her remains were buried in the White cemetery in compliance with a dying request that she be buried in the lot of the Mattox family for whom she had worked twenty-two years. A petition that her request be granted was circulated and generally signed by White citizens. The funeral services were held in a White church with a White pastor officiating and a White choir furnishing the music. Only a few Negroes attended the services. After the body had remained in the White cemetery for five days, a petition appeared asking that it be removed. The request was not granted but on February 24 an open grave was found on the Mattox lot and a new grave in the Negro cemetery: a group of unknown men had removed the body at night and reinterred it in the cemetery for Negroes.

### An Eminent Scientist on Prof. Bose's Work

Professor H. Molisch, the eminent plant physiologist of Vienna, has contributed an

article to *Nature* on Sir J. C. Boses's work, which begins thus:—

After the conclusion of his recent lecture at the University of Vienna, Sir J. C. Bose was kind enough to lend me his instruments for the repetition of some of his more important experiments in the Institute of Plant Physiology of the University. As this is the first time that his experiments have been successfully repeated in a European laboratory, the following results which I obtained will be of interest to readers of "Nature."

Of Prof. Bose's Infinitesimal Contraction Recorder Dr. Molisch writes:—

This ingenious apparatus records the cellular contraction in the interior of the plant under external stimulation. The principle of the instrument is extremely simple; the extreme delicacy of the apparatus bears testimony to the extraordinary skill of the Indian mechanicians trained at the Bose Institute. The stem or other organ of the plant is placed between a fixed and a movable primary lever. The diametric contraction of the plant under stimulation is indicated by the movement of this primary lever which is further magnified by optical means, the total magnification produced being a million times. The indication of the instrument is not affected by mechanical disturbances.

The Vienna professor's experiments with Dr. Bose's apparatus to prove the sensitiveness of ordinary plants were equally successful. His experiments to test Dr. Bose's theory of the movement of sap have convinced him that the Indian scientist is right.

As regards the similarity of plants and animals in certain respects Dr. Molisch observes:—

The pulsatory activity is greatly increased by drugs which enhance cardiac activity in the animal; it is enfeebled or arrested by depressing agents. Extracts from certain Indian plants have a potent influence on the propulsive activity of the plant and the cardiac activity of the animal. This aspect of the investigation has roused considerable interest in the Medical Faculty of Vienna.

"I have seen," writes the Vienna professor in conclusion, "Sir J. C. Bose carry out the experiments described above and can confirm, since I have repeated some of them with Sir J. C. Bose's apparatus, that the results are as he has described."

### Government Attitude towards Social Reform

The following letter addressed by a non-British Christian missionary to the *Indian Daily Mail* throws additional light on the Government attitude towards social reform:—



The matter of the demand which the Government make of every non-British mission is seriously hampering our work. It gives every missionary an anti-Indian bias before he comes to the field, and many never overcome it. I will refer to my own experience to show you how seriously the Government take this undertaking, which Foreign Mission Boards have given on behalf of every missionary, that they will loyally co-operate with the Government. This summer, I received a communication from Government to the effect that if I did not cease attending political meetings, they would complain against me to my Board and would withdraw the Government grant which is being given to the high school with which I am connected. They said that they had no charge to make against me other than that I had attended such meetings, but they considered this to be a violation of the Board's undertaking. *They even objected to my having attended such meetings as have to do with widow remarriage, the removal of caste restrictions and Hindu-Muslim unity, on the ground that these all have political implications.* I called attention to the fact that the meetings which I attended dealing with these matters, were addressed to the people and not to the Government, but evidently the Government make no distinctions. (Italics ours).

This letter gives the same impression of the official attitude towards social reform as the following passage from a speech of Mrs. Wood in America published in our last issue, page 282 :—

Three times representative bodies of Indian women and men in 1925, 1926, and 1927 have demanded the raising of the age of marriage, and each time the Government of India has turned down the application.

### Councils and the Simon Commission

The elected members of Councils represent the country to some extent, though not at all completely. But the official and nominated members do not at all represent the country. It is mainly with the votes of the latter that the Government has succeeded in getting some provincial Councils and the Council of State to appoint committees to co-operate with the Simon Commission. Therefore, the cry that India has given up her resolve to boycott the Commission and will in the main co-operate with it has no foundation in fact.

### Irrigation in Bengal

Sir William Wilcocks, the irrigation engineer of Egyptian fame, who was criticised by some British and Indian supporters of official neglect of irrigation in Bengal, sticks to his assertion that the so-called dead rivers

of Bengal are really neglected canals. Says he, in part, in *Indian Engineering* :—

Mr. Thompson says that my ideas have been formed in the delta of the Nile which flows into a tideless sea and has a greater slope than the Ganges; and that in consequence, I was misled. I surveyed, levelled and worked for three years in the Tigris-Euphrates delta, where the rivers have a gentler slope than the Ganges and flow into the Persian Gulf with its 11-foot tide. I made no mistake. He says that I fell into the hands of Dr. Bentley and was led about by him. Dr. Bentley kindly accompanied me to places fixed by myself. I know my profession and did not waste my time in futile studies at the tails of the rivers but spent it profitably at the head of the canals. We have a saying in Egypt: "Does a fish begin to go bad at the head or at the tail?" It is a saying worthy of the typical irrigated country of the world. One has only to compare the ordered alignment of the Bengal canals with the tangled mess south-east of Faridpur and east of Barisal to see that the Bengal canals were originally artificial and that that funny mess where Mr. Thompson wished me to waste my time is natural.

I talked about no "permanent ribs". I have never heard of such things. Rennel's maps lay on my table and were always referred to by me. They support me. There is as much chance of the Jellingi having been the main stream of the ancient Padma or Ganges as there is of the Ganges having once flowed up the Damodar river. I can assure Mr. Thompson of that. He possibly thinks I did not go deeply enough into the Puranas. I quoted the Mahabharat. I shall now quote, from memory, the Ramayan. This old classic tells us that when 50,000 of the King's subjects, working with their hands, could not bring the Ganges southwards, his grandson Bhagirath working with his brain brought it down all right. All these so-called dead rivers are as surely neglected canals as they will one day be life-giving streams.

So long as British predominance lasts "the so-called dead rivers" of Bengal will not be "life-giving streams," because British exploiters do not expect to get wheat and cotton from this part of the country.

### Coastal Traffic Bill

Two years ago Mr. K. C. Neogy introduced the coastal traffic bill in the Legislative Assembly. This time he allowed Mr. Sarabhai Haji to move it there. This Mr. Haji did in a masterly and comprehensive speech, meeting all objections. The Bill has been referred to a Select Committee. In the course of the debate on the bill, Sir James Simpson, representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in the Assembly, said :—



Mr. Haji was only a paid servant of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, which would benefit mostly by the Bill. It would have been preferable that the Bill should have been sponsored by a less interested person.

Sir James also said that "Scindia" was a member of the Conference of Shipping Companies participating in coastal trade and it was not for Mr. Haji, a paid servant of that Company, to decry the existing monopoly. It was an ill-bird that fouled its own nest.

Mr. Haji's Bill would not encourage Indian Shipping any way. Dispassionately analysed it boiled down to represent the cupidity of Indian capitalists to gain unfair advantage at the cost of European traders. Finally he asked the House to play the game.

Following Sir James Simpson, Mr. K. C. Neogy gave a spirited reply.

Mr. Neogy said that he looked to the Indian Year Book to find who this Simpson was. There was one Simpson, C. I. E., who got a Police medal. The previous speaker did not answer to that description. He next consulted Thacker's Directory, but there were forty-five Simpsons.

The President—Order. Order. What has that got to do with the Bill?

Mr. Neogy:—I am referring to them because personal factors have been brought into the argument in this House. I find there is one Sir James Simpson serving in certain European firms who are agents of four or five Shipping Companies. To my mind this paid servant is the particular gentleman in the House. He represents the European Chambers in which is represented that British Shipping Company, the Inchcape gang.

Continuing, the speaker said that he himself brought the Bill in the House two years ago and it was also ballotted but in order to oblige the Government he did not pursue the measure, because the Government wanted to know where they stood. This time he allowed Mr. Haji to move it, because he knew of it better than the speaker. They were in the House in a representative capacity and what they were in private life, had got nothing to do with the question they had to deal with in the House (hear, hear). Continuing, the speaker said that he had been in the House for more than seven years but he never heard such a disgraceful speech as that which was delivered with reference to Mr. Haji. "Play the game, said Sir Simpson", went on Mr. Neogy. "What game? The British game? Let us see what the spiritual fathers of Sir James Simpson did in the past in reference to the question."

The speaker then read extracts from the reports of the Directors of the East India Company in which they declared their uncompromising opposition to the employment of Indian ships for carrying goods to England. This is the British game, this is the game to which the Hon'ble gentleman refers" (cheers).

### Talk of Equal Rights

In the course of his speech Sir James Simpson claimed as a "British Indian National

no special privileges but equal rights with the sons of the soil. I claim nothing more and will accept nothing less."

Sir James next read from the report of the Nehru Committee that the British community need not be apprehensive of their legitimate interests and appealed to Pandit Motilal Nehru as the author of the report to redeem the promise contained in the report. The vote of the leader of the opposition on the Bill would be a test of the genuineness of the assurance extended to the British community in the Nehru Report.

Pandit Motilal Nehru said in reply:

The Hon'ble Member for the Associated Chambers has paid me the compliment of quoting from the Constitution Report and inviting me to go into the lobby with him. I am prepared to make him a sporting offer. I am prepared to consider his invitation if the Hon'ble Member's constituency is prepared to accept here and to-day the report of the Constitution Committee and accept Dominion Status (cheers).

The Hon'ble Member, Sir, spoke of the glory of India. It would be more appropriate to call it the glory of Anglo-India. I use it in a large sense the term. I saw what this glory means when I went to Gauhati up the river Hooghly. I came across palatial residences of jute kings on the one hand and only a few miles further across the misery of the Indians who work for them. They were ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-protected from wind and rain.

### HOW BRITISH RIGHTS WERE ACQUIRED

Sir James talked of British rights in coastal trade. How was that right acquired? No reply had been given to the long indictment of Mr. Haji as to how Indian Shipping had been ruthlessly strangled. Sir James talked of British rights in coal, jute, coffee, tea and oil industries. That was a tragedy of the situation that in all these industries the non-Indians dominated. Sir James also talked about equal rights and equal opportunities. I would ask the Member 'Had we any opportunities?'

Sir James: Yes.

Pandit Motilal: No. What about the hundred and more tales which we can tell of the ruthless repression of industries and commerce of India? These taunts of discrimination have no application under the present constitution under which there is any amount of discriminatory legislation. Have members of the European group ever stood by the Indian Nationals when laws were passed forging fetters on the Indians or when attempts were made by sections of this House to have those laws removed from the Statute Book? On every possible occasion the Indians have been discriminated against in all conceivable walk of life without a word of protest from the European group.

### NEED OF NATIONAL MERCANTILE MARINE.

Continuing Pandit Motilal said that Sir James had claimed national rights. National rights went with citizenship. If and when the British subjects now exploiting India attained full rights of British Indian citizenship under Dominion Status then they would be able to claim national rights.



And what were national rights? They did not exclude creation of a National Mercantile Marine. Mercantile Marine was a second line of naval defence. It was therefore, essential that a merchant fleet of the country must be entirely national. He was reminded of Col. Crawford's taunt that the Indians were not capable of national defence when the Indians had been disarmed and emasculated under the Government's action. Similarly after the Indian shipping had been throttled by all means they talked of competition and open fight. Indian opinion only wanted that after Indian shipping had been ruthlessly suppressed it should be put on its feet so that it might also be able to function.

#### NOT A RACIAL MEASURE

Continuing Pandit Motilal said that he did not consider the Bill to be racially discriminatory. No single section of the community had a right to say that they wanted perpetuation of sectional monopoly to the detriment of the entire national interests. The Legislature must legislate for the greatest good of the greatest number. If in making legislation in national interests one section of the community suffered it was inevitable and unavoidable.

#### Prof. C. V. Raman's Latest Discovery

According to a contribution published in *The Statesman*, which contains some non-scientific adjectives,

Physicists throughout the world are deeply interested in the discovery, at Calcutta, of a new radiation-effect. The Raman-effect, as it is called after its discoverer, is the most-discussed question in physics to-day. Numerous papers and reports dealing with it have already appeared in the scientific journals and the foremost centres of research in Europe have taken up the study of the new phenomenon. The degree of interest aroused by the discovery is indicated by the fact that a leading German scientific periodical devotes some twenty columns to a report on the new Effect.

The discovery made by Prof. Raman is that when light falls upon molecules of matter and is scattered by them, a remarkable change occurs, which is most readily perceived by observing the scattered light through a prismatic spectroscope.

#### EFFECT EXPLAINED

For the purpose of these experiments it is most convenient to use as source of light, a mercury-vapour lamp. This gives a very intense white light which, when examined through a prism, appears resolved into a spectrum containing a few bright lines of different colours, a bright indigo line, a blue line, a green line and two yellow lines. When the light from such a lamp passes through a transparent liquid or solid such as water or ice, the light scattered within the substances when observed through a prism is found to show a number of new lines not present in the light of the mercury arc itself.

This strange phenomenon is exhibited by all transparent bodies, the position and the number of the new lines being different for different substances.

As regards the field of research opened up by this discovery, the writer says:—

Apart from the fundamental interest of the radiation-process revealed by the discovery of the Raman-effect, the study of the new spectra thus produced opens up a wonderful field of research for the investigation of the constitution of molecules and of matter generally, and of its optical properties. So great is this field that Prof. R. W. Wood, a very distinguished Foreign Member of the Royal Society of London, in cabling to the Editor of *Nature* confirming the Raman-effect, characterizes it as "a surprising and brilliant discovery with immense potentialities."

#### The State of Scientific Knowledge in India

When Western scientists confirm and accept the conclusions of Indian scientists, Indians are naturally gratified. The practice of mutual testing and recognition exists also among Western scientists themselves. Owing to the pre-eminence of the West in science, it is necessary in the case of India to have our scientist's original work being tested and confirmed by occidental men of science. But this necessity cannot be a source of pride to us, nor increase our self-respect. Even small European nations, like the Danes, the Dutch, the Norwegians, do not depend entirely on the approval of scientists of other nations for confidence in their own work. The case is otherwise with Indians. The backward state of scientific education and knowledge in India accounts for this difference. Next to the achievement of universal literacy, both the state and the people in India must make the widest spread of scientific knowledge, from the primary stage upwards, one of the main aims of the Indian educational movement. The habit of observation and experiment, and of research at the proper stage, must be sedulously fostered. Then in course of time may India expect to be as self-reliant in science as other civilized countries.

#### Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's Mission

For political and economic reasons, those who are interested in keeping India politically enslaved and economically backward and unorganized have long carried on a libellous propaganda against this country themselves or by paid agents. Latterly this propaganda has become particularly venomous. Indian journalists and authors have been trying



to counteract the effects of this continuous campaign of calumny. It is necessary to do this work abroad in person by word of mouth also. By her gifts of oratory and poetry, by her courage, and by virtue of her position as an ex-president of the Indian National Congress, Mrs. Naidu is fit to do this work. She herself is an embodied refutation of many of the worst things said of India concerning the position of women here. It is not contended that their position is all that it ought to be. They have still many disabilities and are sometimes subjected to cruel wrongs. But their position is not as bad as it has been painted. Mrs. Naidu's example shows that it is feasible for an Indian woman to rise to the highest non-official civic position, to become a distinguished orator and a recognised poet, to successfully play the role of reconciler between races and creeds and to be offered the highest academic distinction *honoris causa*, which she declined.

She will not, of course, enter into any controversy with any slanderer of India. Her speeches and her poems, recited by herself, will suffice to give an idea of what Indian society stands for, and thereby make her motherland respected.

Mrs. Naidu has declared that she is going abroad, not as mendicant, but to assert India's national honour.

### Bureaucrats as Defenders of Indian Faiths

One of the funniest arguments advanced from the official side in support of the Public Safety Bill was that it was intended to protect the Hindu and Islamic faiths from the onslaughts of Bolshevism. So even the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy can, for their own purposes, raise the mob cry of religion in danger!

If these defenders or would-be defenders of Indian faiths be sincere in their protestations, why do they not deport the army of foreign Christian missionaries before seeking to expel some stray communists from the country? For, it is the openly avowed direct object of these foreign missionaries to undermine the faith of Hindus and Moslems in their religions in order to convert them to Christianity, whereas Bolshevism has no such object. It must not be understood that we want Christian missionaries to be deported. Their work in India has benefited

directly and indirectly. They have as much right to be in every country as the followers of other faiths have though the right of Hindus, Moslems and Indian Christians to go to and live and work is denied in many a Christian land.

Lala Lajpat Rai gave utterance to some home truths on the love of Indian religions professed by the bureaucracy and Sir Hari Singh Gour, when he said in the course of his very telling speech :

I am quite prepared to admit that communism and imperialism stand at two opposite poles. I have absolutely no doubt that the success of communism in this world will mean the destruction of all empires. I am, therefore, satisfied that this effort on the part of this Government and on the part of my capitalist friends is perfectly natural. They want to suppress communism. But why should they say that they are doing it in the interests of this country? Why import into this discussion matters which are not included in the Bill itself? My friend the Hon. the Home Member and also Sir Hari Singh Gour waxed eloquent upon the protection of religion.....

Sir Hari Singh Gour talking of religion ! That was quite a surprise to me, because only a few months ago I read a document signed by that gentleman in which he framed the constitution of a league for modernising India which asked all Indians to adopt all western methods and do away with religion altogether. I know he will deny it, because he is accustomed to doing that.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : Can my friend produce that document.

Lala Lajpat Rai : Yes, I will, just as I produced a telegram which he sent to me in favour of the boycott of the Simon Commission and the sending of which he denied when I quoted it from memory. He has got into that habit and we on this side of the House have ceased to take him seriously, either when he opposes or when he supports us. Therefore, it is a surprise to me to hear Sir Hari Singh Gour pleading for this Bill in the name of religion. I do not know what his religion is. There is a religion known as Mammon worship ; there is a religion of God worship, which, of course, pious Hindus and Mussalmans follow. I do not believe that he follows any God worship. He follows Mammon worship. And then again, the British Government talking of the protection of religion in this country ! Why, they have destroyed the very foundations of religion in this country by their very existence and by allowing forces to work in this country which are anti-religious. Religion has different meanings. Even communists believe and allege that Bolshevism is a religion. If that is the meaning to be attached to religion, then perhaps my friend is perfectly religious and I am prepared to apologize for saying he has no religion. Religion has different forms. What form was meant when an appeal was made to the Hindus and Mussalmans of this House to rouse their passions on behalf of religion because the communists attacked their religion ? Well, Sir, if the communists attack



any religion they attack the conventional Christian religion. They do not attack religion altogether, and as I have said, they do not attack every organized form of government.

Mr. Lajpat Rai concluded by suggesting the deportation of all exploiters.

We wish all foreigners to leave this country and leave us free. We will always welcome them as friends, except when they want to come here as exploiters: then we would wish them to leave and would be willing to pay their passages and something more. We are prepared to give them any money they want if they will leave us free to fight out our own battles. You talk of protecting these labourers. We don't want any of your protection. All we want is freedom to develop ourselves on our own lines, even to fight among ourselves, if necessary. Give us that freedom and go away. We do not want your protection. You have come to make money, money, Sir, money. You have come to fill your pockets with our hard-earned money. Our hard-earned money all goes into the pockets of foreign capitalists and foreign exploiters. We understand all these tactics, we understand all these disguises and devices.

### Indian Boys and the Sea

The attention of Indian parents and other guardians of boys is drawn to the fact that, like last year, a batch of boys is to be selected for training in the *Dufferin*, the first training ship of the Indian Mercantile Marine. It is a very small beginning. But advantage should be taken of it in order that in future Indians may own sea-going vessels manned entirely by their countrymen. Last year 30 cadets were selected from all over India. Candidates for training must be between the ages of 13 and 16 on September 15, 1928, and must have received school education up to the lower secondary standard, i. e., three standards below the matriculation. There is a qualifying examination in English and a medical examination with special reference to eye-sight. The course of training lasts for three years and the fees payable are Rs. 50 a month for each month of training on the ship. The last date for receiving applications is the 5th of October, 1928. The qualifying examination will be held about the first of December. If any further information be required, it may be obtained by sending for a prospectus to the Captain Superintendent, I. M. M. T. S. *Dufferin*, Mazagaon Pier, Bombay, together with a remittance of one rupee.

### Appointments on the Railway Board

In answer to a question asked by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Sir George Rainy, the Commerce Member, is reported to have said:

"Appointments on the Railway Board are not reserved for Indians. At the time of appointing the successor of Sir Austen Hadow the claims of Indian officers will be fully considered, but the final choice must be guided by the consideration of fitness alone, irrespective of race or nationality."

If anybody says that appointments to high posts, in the Railway or other Departments, have been made, are made or will be made (during British predominance) according to fitness alone, irrespective of race or nationality, he says what is not true. As regards the Railway Board, the patent fact is that no Indian has up till now been appointed on it. It is not true that this has been due to the utter absence of qualified Indians.

As regards fitness, the abstract principle laid down by Sir George Rainy that the fittest must be appointed, irrespective of race or nationality, is not acted upon in any country so far as foreigners are concerned. There are many vacancies every year and month in every Western country for which the fittest men may belong to foreign nations. But generally each country chooses some fit men from its own nationals, though they may not be the fittest considering mankind as a whole. It is only when no man sufficiently qualified for some particular kind of work can be found among the nationals of a country that some qualified foreigner is appointed in European countries, American countries, Japan, etc. The practice in India should be exactly the same. If an Indian is competent to discharge the duties of some office and is the fittest among Indians for doing such work, he should be appointed to it, even though he may not be the fittest in the British Empire or in the world. In the abstract, the ideal thing would be to ransack the whole world for the fittest man, every time a post falls vacant. But no nation pursue or can pursue this ideal. So, there is no reason why an abstract principle should be used in India as a cloak to hide the ugly naked fact that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy want all the fat jobs for themselves to the exclusion of the permanent inhabitants of the country, as far as they can.



## Racial Discrimination in Railways

It is not merely as regards appointments on the Railway Board that Indians are discriminated against.

Racial discrimination exists throughout all grades of appointments, except those in which the pay is such as will not attract the least qualified Anglo-Indians and Britishers. The attention of the Government has been drawn to such discrimination and it has been officially admitted more than once; but it has not yet been knocked on the head. A few figures from the railway administration report for 1926-27 will show the nature and extent of the evil.

As many as 78.8 per cent. of the higher posts are occupied by Europeans and Anglo-Indians and only 21.2 per cent. by Indians. In the subordinate services 70.4 per cent. of the posts are held by Europeans and Anglo-Indians and 29.6 per cent. by Indians. Yet the number of qualified Indians for both the higher and the lower services is vastly greater than the number of Anglo-Indians and Europeans in India having the same qualifications.

Racial discrimination exists in the appointment of guards, for example. The general practice is to appoint Indians to grade II and Anglo-Indians and Europeans to grade I initially. Similar discrimination is made in the appointment of ticket collectors, engine drivers, firemen, charge men, electricians and permanent way inspectors.

Racial discrimination exists as regards the arrangements and grants for the education of the children of Anglo-Indian and European employees and of those of Indian employees. For example, the East Indian Railway makes a grant of Rs. 1,34,000 to the Oakgrove school alone, meant for Anglo-Indian and European children; but the highest grant made by it to any Indian school is Rs. 4,500, and the total grant made to all Indian schools taken together is Rs. 14,700. There is provision for the education of Anglo-Indian and European girls, but none for that of Indian girls.

As regards medical relief, separate blocks are provided for the two classes of patients, the senior officer attending to the Anglo-Indians and Europeans, the junior to Indians.

Most of the fines are paid by Indians but the proceeds are spent mostly on European institutes for recreation. Christmas

passes are issued only to Christians. Passes are occasionally issued only to ministers of the Christian religion but not to Hindu and Muslim religious teachers.

## Dr. Sudhindra Bose on the Hindu University

Dr. Sudhindra Bose has seen much of the world, much of educational institutions, and is himself a lecturer in a State University in America. His opinion on universities is, therefore, worthy of attention. In the course of an article on the Hindu University, sent by him from Naples to *The East Bengal Times* of Dacca, he says :

During my recent visit to India, the one remark which I heard from the Government officials and Anglo-Indians more frequently than another was that Indians lack the power of organization and administration. Are these critics always right?

Men of great administrative gifts are seldom to be found in unlimited quantities in any country, and they can hardly be looked for in a subject country with its many inhibitions and restricted opportunities. I can, however, point to the Hindu University, which I visited not long ago, as an eloquent refutation of the charge that all Indians lack administrative abilities. This great educational enterprise at Benares, which marked an epoch in the history of Indian education, was organized by Indians and administered by Indians. It shows what Indians are capable of doing when they have half a chance.

As a member of the instructional staff of one of the largest State Universities of America, I have had considerable opportunities during the last fifteen years to come in contact with many of the leading American educators. It is, however, my opinion that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, will rank high in any group of American educational statesmen. His passion is for education; but he is not a mere visionary. A talk with him will convince even a hardboiled Anglo-Indian how vigorously and incisively and sensibly he has dealt with every situation and problem arising out of the Hindu University during the past few years. He is a far-sighted, warm-hearted, and loveable man. Malaviya, to my mind, stands at par in diplomatic and administrative ability with the best captains of education that America or Europe can show.

As regards the education the students, all of whom are *not* Hindus, receive here, Dr. Bose says :—

The Hindu University, which is attempting to combine the ancient and honored culture of India with the modern science of Europe and America must go on. It grants B. A., M. A., M. Sc., degrees in almost all the Arts and Science subjects taught at other Indian Universities. Perhaps that is not saying a great deal. But the high standard it



has maintained in applied Science—Technical and Electrical Engineering, Metallurgy, Mining and Industrial Chemistry demands special recognition.

The laboratories, workshop and colleges, particularly the new women's college, which are doing such a vast amount of good to bring India in line with the rest of the progressive world, should not be crippled for lack of sufficient funds.

### Chinese Nationalist Programme for the Development of Army and Navy

On July 18th Marshal Chiang Kai Shek in an address to the Chinese students in Peking emphasised the need of abolition of unequal treaties between China and other nations. He exhorted the Chinese students that "*in order to free the country from Imperialist aggression they should prepare themselves and take up military training.*" It is the ambition of the Chinese nationalists that "*in 15 years China will have an Army and Navy equal to any in the world.*"

Chinese nationalists are determined to spread military education among the students. This is evident from the following despatch :

Shanghai, June. 1 The Students' Union has decided to hold a review of the Military Cadets Corps in Shanghai shortly, when military authorities at Shanghai will be invited to give instructions. Up to the present about 40,000 students have joined the Military Cadets Corp and they are receiving rigid military training every day.

The Chinese Nationalists have the programme that within 15 years their national army and navy will be second to none, whereas the British masters of India are content with spreading the lie that the Indian people are not able to develop military leadership to undertake the responsibility of Indian National Defence. While the Chinese Nationalists are doing their best to rouse the martial spirit of the nation and spreading military education, the British authorities have refused to carry into action the meagre recommendations of the Sken Committee towards the nationalisation of the Indian Army.

T. D.,

### An American Estimate of the Activities of the League of Nations

*The Nation* (New York) of June 20th, in its editorial notes, makes the following comment on the activities of the League of Nations :—

"As a sort of loud-speaker for little nations with a grievance the League of Nations is a success. As a machinery for settling bitter international disputes it serves chiefly as an electric fan, cooling heated disputants and blowing off some of the vapour. The recent session of its Council afforded a whole series of examples of its talents and shortcomings. For five years Hungary and Rumania have been making faces at each other over the question of compensation for the Hungarian "optants"—the Magyar landlords who retained both their Hungarian citizenship and their Transylvanian landholdings when that province was transferred by treaty to Rumania. They object to the Rumanian law dividing up the great estates. The League has proposed solution after solution—every one of which either Rumania or Hungary has turned down. Again the League has failed to solve the problem, and now invites the disputants to settle it face to face. On the other hand, the League machinery has aired the question before all Europe and given both sides a chance to calm down.

It is when one of the parties to a dispute is clearly stronger that matters are worst. Poland by sheer brute force defied the League seven years ago and seized Vilna; she is still in possession, and strong enough to retain possession. So Austen Chamberlain and the other high priests of the League direct their reproaches against intransigent little Lithuania. Similarly in the question of the arms seized on the Hungarian frontier. They were shipped, in plain violation of the Treaty of the Trianon, by Italy, which is not reprimanded or even mentioned, to Hungary, which gets off with a mild slap on the wrist in the form of a not-guilty-but-don't-do-it-again verdict. If the Little Entente, which fears an armed Hungary, had been stronger, the rebuke would, we suspect, have been sharper."

There is much truth in the above statement. T. D.

### A Curious Comparison between Dominion Status and Independence

The following is the *Week's* contribution to the controversy relating to the goal of independence and dominion status :

If a man like Mahatma Gandhi, whom no one can accuse of weakness, can accept and approve of the Nehru scheme with all its implications, we need not worry about what the Shaukat Ali or even Srinivasa Iyengars may be saying. We are not of those who barter the substance for the shadow. Why be slaves to words? Egypt is supposed to have an independent status. Canada is but a dominion. But is there a man in his senses who would prefer Egyptian independence to Canada's dependence? Dominion status is independence for all practical purposes with security thrown in—security which is of no small importance during the transitional period when India will be engaged in consolidating her defences. But apart from motives of expediency, we hold that India by remaining in the federation of the British Commonwealth will be more in line



with the normal development of world polity, which increasingly tends to co-ordination,—not the isolation—of the peoples and nations of the world.

Serious notice need not be taken of the Catholic journal's personalities;—every opinion held by Gandhiji is not necessarily to be preferred to every opinion held by persons of lesser celebrity. Let us attend to its argument. Why does it take Egypt as the type of an independent country? It is not really independent. Had it taken France or Japan for purposes of comparison, could it have said, "Is there a man in his senses who would prefer French or Japanese independence to Canada's dependence?"

For ourselves, we certainly prefer the goal of independence to that of dominion status. But as dominion status *like that of Canada* is equivalent to independence in most matters, and as it must ultimately either lead to independence or be exactly equal to it, we do not quarrel about words with those who are for dominion status. Nor do we think the argument from security and the normal development of world polity entirely negligible. At the same time, no one should shut his eyes to the fact that the argument from security may breed a sense of false security and keep the Indian nation weak by taking away the main incentive to developing its full strength for self-defence. Dominion status, if properly used, may be good for "the transitional period," but there would be no need for it afterwards. As for "co-ordination," are even the small independent nations of the world dying to be included in the British Empire?

### The Bengal Students' Conference

In this country the success of conferences is judged by the number and emotionalism of the audience, the quality of the presidential address and other speeches, the nature of the ideals and objects indicated in the resolutions, and the degree of orderliness which marks the proceedings. Judged by all these standards, the Bengal Students' Conference was a great success, if the newspaper reports of its meetings are correct. But a conference can be called a real success only if it bears good fruit. So for the present judgment must be reserved.

It was a good idea to get the Conference opened by the Rev. Dr. Urquhart, Vice-

Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who said in the course of his speech:—

You are here to prepare yourselves for life, to be ready to take your places as leaders of the community. Do not too hastily bring that period of preparation to an end, and rush into actions which you have not had the opportunity of sufficiently considering. This is your time for pondering over problems, and discovering the best means of solving them. It is not the time for you to rush into action before you have found the solution. Nor should any others condescend to make use of you before you have arrived at independent and free judgment for yourselves. If you cherish this spirit you will without doubt arrive at a solution of your problems, but only if you cultivate this spirit you may find ways of activity which are at present hidden from the eyes of those who are older, and I would say that when, under the guidance of God and in the exercise of your own power of deliberation, you do discover these ways, it should not be the part of your seniors to create obstacles to your entering on these hitherto untried ways. Meanwhile, in all freedom of thought, in all discipline of spirit, in all respect for the past, consideration of the present and loyalty to the future, prepare, prepare, prepare for the days of action which will come to you at a later stage of your life, when you will be sent out from this University to become the responsible leaders of your country in its progress towards all that is true and beautiful and good. Prepare, I say, with open mind. Prove all things and hold fast to your souls that which is good. "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report—think on these things"—think about them calmly, but also with enthusiasm for individual and social ideals; deliberate upon them, make them your own and so live according to them that your country will be the better for your conferring together.

No exception can be taken to these words, of wise counsel and none has been taken even by those papers which have ridiculed discipline and the idea that the life of students is a period of preparation. Public memory is said to be proverbially short. Still some may remember what showers of abuse were poured on the devoted head of Professor Jadunath Sarkar for laying due stress on discipline and preparation for the work of life lying ahead for students, in his convocation address. And Professor Sarkar was adversely criticized for his views on these points even by some of the papers generally friendly to him.

What are the reasons?

Mr. Pramod Kumar Ghoshal was chosen chairman of the reception committee. In a students' conference this honour should be reserved for some one who is distinguished as a student and as a public worker, or



at least as either. We are not aware that Mr. Ghoshal is the best qualified among Bengal students in these respects. His part in the Presidency College disturbances is well known. But that ought not to have made him a hero. In the course of his speech he laid down the following duties for the Students' Association :—

The Association should carry on a ruthless war against the appalling ignorance and illiteracy of the country and make strenuous attempts to spread free primary education in the country. The Association should help in the spreading of sanitary knowledge in villages and improving their sanitary condition. It should organise co-operative measures for the betterment of the economic conditions of its members, develop a spirit of adventure and enterprise amongst them and desire to deviate from the beaten track in search of better avenues to happiness and prosperity. It should attempt to inculcate discipline, sense of duty and an esprit de corps amongst its members by organising and training a volunteer corps. It should organise and run on proper and up-to-date lines, gymnasiums for physical culture and libraries, debating societies, extension lectures for intellectual culture. It should organise a new type of journal to propagate its ideas and encourage new lines of thinking.

It is an ambitious programme, though a good one. The students' resources are limited. If they mean business and not mere talk, they must begin with a few small things. What problem or problems will they tackle first?

There is unconscious humour in Mr. Ghoshal's address in the words. "It should attempt to inculcate discipline."

Mr. Ghoshal is right when he says "that the attempts to portray the students as a band of political agitators working under the hidden hand of Moscow, are but the products of some unbalanced imagination." But he is not correct in asserting that "the recent strikes in some colleges were due to a genuine desire on the part of students to get redress of some legitimate grievances." They were the first to offend and subsequently became tools in the ill-concealed hands of some Bengali agitators.

#### Pandit Jawaharlal's Address at the Students' Conference

An

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a fine presidential address at the Bengal Students' Conference. He "declared himself in agreement with Dr. Urquhart in counselling students not to rush into action," for which counsel

neither of the speakers was howled down, or criticised in the press. Professor Jadunath Sarkar received different treatment for giving the same advice in different language.

The Pandit rightly characterised the differences between the inhabitants of the different provinces of India as comparatively unimportant.

Strong are the common bonds that tie us, the bonds of a common legacy from the past, of common suffering and the hope of building up a great future for this country of yours and mine. And indeed you can carry this comparison a little further, across the artificial frontiers that separate country from country. We are told of vital differences of race and character. Such differences there undoubtedly are, but how many of them are purely accidental due to climate and environment and education and how liable to change they are? You will find that the common bond is greater and more vital than the differences, though many of us may not realise the fact.

He went on to say :—

Youth can think and is not afraid of the consequences of thought. Do not imagine that thought is an easy matter or that its consequences are trivial. Thought is not or should not be afraid of the wrath of the heavens or the terrors of hell. It is the most revolutionary thing on earth. And it is because youth dare think and dare act that it holds out the promise of taking out this country and this world of ours from the ruts and mire in which they have sunk.

Are you, young men and women of Bengal, going to dare think and dare act? Are you prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Youth of the world, not only to free your country from an insolent and alien rule—but also to establish in this unhappy world of ours a better and happier society?

Youth *can*, no doubt, think. But do most of the young men and women of Bengal, or even a considerable minority of them, really think? Or do they merely repeat shibboleths, parrot-like?

Properly equipped, youth, *and even age*, can free India from an insolent and alien rule and also establish in this unhappy world of ours a better and happier society. It is no use flattering youth—and we are sure Pandit Jawaharlal did not want to do it. And, therefore, we feel bound to utter the unpleasant truth that men and women whose only asset is their youth cannot do great things. Nor are those hardworking servants of the world useless whose only disqualification is that they have been in this world a good many years.

According to Mr. Nehru,

National independence and perfect freedom to develop on lines of our own choosing is the essential requisite of all progress. Without it there can be no political or economic or social



freedom. But national independence should not mean for us merely an addition to the warring groups of nations. It should be a step towards the creation of a world commonwealth of nations in which we can assist in the fullest measure to bring about world co-operation and world harmony.

He added :—

You cannot have a purely political ideal, for politics is after all only a small part of life, although, situated as we are under alien rule, it dominates every branch of our activity. Your ideal must be a complete whole and must comprise life as it is to-day,—economic, social, as well as political. It can only be one of social equality in its widest sense and equality of opportunity for every one. It is notorious that we have neither of these to-day.

We, too, stand for social equality, equal opportunities for all, and an equitable distribution of the products of labour. But we are not sure that any of the forms of socialism advocated by theorists can bring about such a state of things. Of communism and the communists Mr. Nehru says that personally he does not agree with many of the methods of the communists and he is by no means sure to what extent communism can suit present conditions in India. "I do not believe in communism as an ideal of society."

Russia has many faults, as other countries have,

But in spite of her many mistakes she stands to-day as the greatest opponent of Imperialism and her record with the nations of the East has been just and generous. In China, Turkey and Persia, of her own free will she gave up her valuable rights and concessions, whilst the British bombarded the crowded Chinese cities and killed Chinamen by hundreds because they dared protest against British Imperialism.

In the city of Tabriz in Persia, when the Russian ambassador first came, he called the populace together and on behalf of the Russian nation tendered formal apology for the sins of the Tsars. Russia goes to the East as an equal, not as a conqueror or a race-proud superior. Is it any wonder that she is welcomed?

Some of you may go in after years to foreign countries for your studies. If you go to England you will notice in full measure what race prejudice is. If you go to the continent of Europe, you will be more welcome, whether you go to France or Germany or Italy. If any of you go to Russia you will see how racial feeling is utterly absent and the Chinamen who throng the Universities of Moscow are treated just like others.

Some of his final words were:—

The Avatars of to-day are great ideas which come to reform the world. And the idea of the day is social equality. Let us listen to it and become its instruments to transform the world and make it a better place to live in.

*Live dangerously.* Let our elders seek security and stability. Our quest must be adventure but adventure in a noble enterprise which promises to bring peace to the distracted world and security and stability to the millions who have not.

### Should Students be Everything but Students ?

Infants, boys and girls and young men and women do not live in airtight compartments separated from the rest of the world. According to their capacity for understanding and being interested in passing events and pressing problems, they become interested in things, get excited by some events, depressed or elated by some others, and so on. For this reason, there cannot be and ought not to be an "atmosphere of pure study" anywhere. It is natural for students to want to know all about what is taking place around them and even to be actors among other actors. They should not be blamed for this natural desire ; rather should they be encouraged to be up-to-date in their general information. But to be well-informed about current events and problems and things in general is an ideal meant for all, not for students alone. Students have their main and special work just as other kinds of people in society have. Peasants, artisans, mechanics, craftsmen, traders, merchants, teachers, lawyers, engineers, physicians, artists, scientists, philosophers, litterateurs, etc., have all their special work to do. This they generally do, and in addition they acquire information regarding the world of to-day and do their duty as citizens. Also there may be and are statesmen and politicians whose main work lies in the field of politics. But they are not *in statu pupillari*. Are students the only class of people who have no duties which entitle them to be called students ? Is it because they have not got to earn their bread and are maintained by others that they are to be called upon to be everything else but students ? Is the book of nature a useless superfluity ? Are *existing* libraries, laboratories museums, demonstration farms, botanical gardens, etc., useless lumber ?

It has become necessary to repeat these questions, because whenever students are reminded of their main duty, agitators at once place before them the supreme duty of freeing the country. But in what sense is it *their* supreme duty and not of every



one else? We are old-fashioned enough to believe and assert that the proper duty of students is to study. And, of course, like other people, they have other duties, which are subsidiary. When they leave their schools, colleges or universities for good, let them, if they choose and are fit to do so, devote themselves entirely to politics or other kinds of social service.

It is very far from our thought to suggest that students as students are not all to be social servants. They are certainly to be social servants as part of their training but study must be their main and special work. Why else do they call themselves and allow others to call them students? If they do not want to study or if they want to give their studies a subordinate place in their scheme of life, they should call themselves simply boys or girls, young men or young women.

We have glanced over the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed at the Bengal Students' Conference. With the exception of the speech of Dr. Urquhart, all these might have been quite appropriately delivered and passed at any other gathering of young people; and some parts of the speeches and most of the resolutions might have been appropriately delivered and passed at any other political gathering. What one misses is anything having a direct bearing on the proper work of Bengali students. No doubt, in the programme outlined in Mr. Ghoshal's speech the *running* of libraries and debating societies, and extension lectures were mentioned. But there the matter ended. Are the students of Bengal the intellectual equals of the students of other parts of India and of other countries in various fields of intellectual work? If not, how can their intellectual achievements and status be made equal to those of other students in and outside India? These and similar questions were neither asked, pondered over or attempted to be answered in this *students'* conference. Youth assembled there wanted very much to do good mainly to others, but not so much to themselves. It was very altruistic, no doubt, but unsatisfactory all the same.

The literature of Bengal, the scientific, philosophical and historical achievement of Bengal, should have received some attention at this conference. But politics monopolised almost all the attention instead, as if the main work of students were political.

Age is generally blamed as *laudator temporis acti* (a praiser of time past). At the risk of being sharply reminded of this failing, one may draw the attention of the present generation of Bengali students to many of their predecessors who were good students first and political workers afterwards. Their achievements both as students and political workers are not unworthy of the consideration of their venerable juniors.

### Ancient Ruins at Paharpur

"The contribution of Paharpur to the cultural history of Bengal in regard to religion, art and architecture is unique and unrivalled," said Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, in the course of a recent Indian Museum lantern lecture.

The Paharpur temple, the lecturer observed, supplied an architectural missing link between the earlier monuments of India and the later exuberance of Indo-colonial art as exemplified in Java, Cambodia and Burma. The art of Paharpur supplies the first indications of a prosperous school of sculpture in Bengal in the golden age of the Guptas. Besides exhibiting the well-known characteristics of broad intellectualism common with the other contemporary schools, the Bengal masters show their individuality in their peculiar refinement and emotionalism. The terra cotta plaques, of which no fewer than three thousand specimens have so far come to light, represent probably the most well-defined provincial folk art, in which Bengal is prominent to the present day.

Aborigines clad in leaf aprons, ascetics reduced to skeletons, acrobats and dancers, represented the lighter side, and illustrated vividly the sense of humor of the Bengal artist 1500 years ago.

On the whole, the terra cotta artists were very successful in delineating in plastic materials the moving world of men and animals in which they lived. The discoveries would thus prove invaluable to students of early art in Bengal.

Among small antiquities of historical importance discovered were several copper plates of the 5th century recording grants of land to the early Jain temple on the site of the excavations.

### Ram Mohun Roy on Passports

In the prefatory note to some letters of Ram Mohun Roy which have been printed in this issue under the heading, "Ram Mohun Roy on International Fellowship," attention has been drawn to the fact that the Raja anticipated the principles underlying some of the organisations and activities of the League of Nations. It is also to be noticed that he



gave therein reasons for suggesting the discontinuance of the system of passports. In this respect also his views were in advance of his age. It is only recently that in some European countries it has been seriously proposed that the practice of demanding passports from visitors from foreign countries should be discontinued.

### Ram Mohun Roy and His Persian Paper

Those acquainted with the biography of Ram Mohun Roy know that he conducted for some time a Persian weekly named *Mirat ul Akhbar* or "The Mirror of Intelligence". Not much is known about its contents, nor why it ceased to appear. Mr. Brajendranath Banerji has been able, by his researches, to remove our ignorance on the subject partially. He has published in the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* an article, entitled "An Unknown Chapter of the Calcutta Press" which throws some light on the subject. Mr. Banerji says that

"Certain remarks of Ram Mohun on the doctrine of the Trinity, published in the *Mirat* in August, 1822, were considered highly offensive. On 10th October, 1822, Mr. W. B. Bayley delivered in Council a lengthy minute regarding the tendency of the Native Press which gives full details about Ram Mohun's *Mirat* and those of his articles to which objection was taken."

Mr. Banerji reproduces in the *Gazette* that portion of the minute which has been permitted by the Government of India to be publicly used by him. After publishing that portion he writes :

Lord Hastings sailed for England on 9th January, 1823, and the Acting Governor-General, J. Adam, who did not share his Lordship's liberal views on the subject of the Indian Press, passed, on 14th March, 1823, a rigorous Press Ordinance which was duly registered by the Supreme Court on 4th April, in spite of a memorial, signed by Ram Mohun Roy and five other distinguished gentlemen of Calcutta, protesting against the new regulations as putting an end to the freedom of the Press.

One effect of the new regulations was the closing of Ram Mohun's *Mirat*, immediately after these regulations had been registered by the Supreme Court. In the last number of his paper, he "declared his inability to go on publishing under, what he would represent as to him derogating conditions and he laments that he, 'one of the most humble of men,' should be no longer able to contribute towards the intellectual improvement of his countrymen."

After the Supreme Court had rejected the memorial against the new ordinance, Ram Mohun, as a last measure, sent an appeal to the King

in Council, which was signed by him and many other respectable men of the city, but it met with no better success.

On account of the excellence of the diction, style and arguments of this Appeal to the King, it has been called by Miss Sophia Dobson Collet, the Raja's English biographer, the *Arcopagitica* of India.

In the last issue of the *Modern Review*, pp. 368-369, a letter of Professor H. H. Wilson was printed in which it is stated : "Mr. Sandford Arnot, whom he had employed as his Secretary [in England], importuned him for the payment of large arrears which he called arrears of salary, and threatened Ram Mohun, if not paid, to do what he has done since his death, claim as his own writing all that Ram Mohun published in England." This Arnot did in the *Asiatic Journal*, September-December, 1833, first by supplying materials for the Raja's memoir in it written editorially and subsequently in a signed letter to that journal in reply to Dr. Lant Carpenter's "A Review of the Labours, Opinions and Character of Raja Ram Mohun Roy."

Some people were similarly inclined to think that the memorial to the Supreme Court and Appeal to the King were not written by Ram Mohun. But, writes Mr. Banerji,

The following extract from the East India House Debate, held in July, 1824, on the banishment of Mr. Silk Buckingham, corroborates the general belief that Ram Mohun was its author, and testifies to his wonderful power of English composition :—

"Sir John Malcolm:—We have heard a petition said to be written, and I have no doubt it is, by that respectable native, Ram Mohun Roy, whom I know and regard. I was one of those who earnestly wished his mind could have been withdrawn from useless schemes of speculative policy, and devoted to giving us his useful aid in illustrating the past and present history of his countrymen; for that knowledge of which we are yet imperfectly possessed must form the basis of every national plan of improvement". (9th July, 1824).\*

"Capt. Gowan next rose to address the Court, but we regret that the confusion which prevailed during the time the Honourable Proprietor was speaking, prevented us from hearing him distinctly.

We understood him to say, that he rose principally for the purpose of bearing his testimony to the competency of Ram Mohun Roy to write the Memorial which had been so often referred to in the course of the discussions. He had received a letter from that individual relative to

\*Speech delivered at a General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock on 9th July, 1824. Malcolm's *Political History of India* (1826), ii. cxxlvii



a subject which he (Captain Gowan) had much at heart, namely, the foundation of some schools in India, which was written with extraordinary talent, which letter he would read to the Court." (23rd July, 1824)

### All-India Women's Conference Report

The honorary secretary's half-yearly report of the All-India Women's Conference on educational reform, 1928, makes encouraging and interesting reading. Besides its other activities,

The Conference has as usual shown keen enthusiasm in dealing with the problem of child marriage. Public meetings have been organised by the Conference in every nook and corner of the country condemning the custom of child marriage and supporting Har Bilas Sarda's Child Marriage Bill and Hari Singh Gour's Age of Consent Bill, but demanding that the legal age in the first Bill be raised to 16 and 21 for girls and boys respectively, and in the second the age of consent to 16. It was in pursuance of the Conference resolution on this subject that the All-India Child-Marriage Abolition League was started by H. H. the Rani of Mandi, and a resolution in support of this demand was carried through the Madras Legislative Council by Dr Muthulaxmi ammal. A similar resolution is expected to be moved in the C. P. Legislative Council by the lady member of the Council

### Muslim Opinion on the Nehru Report and Lucknow Settlement

On account of the adverse manifestoes issued by some Musalman leaders, it was feared that Muslim opinion would be worked up to oppose the Nehru Committee's report and the Lucknow settlement which followed. But there have been signs which show that there is a fair chance of Muhammadans generally accepting the conclusions of the All-Parties Conference. Take, for example, the largely attended meeting of the Punjab Musalmans which was attempted to be broken up by hired hoodligans. The chairman sat calm and unmoved inspite of the throwing of missiles and other disturbances. The result was, some ten thousand persons voted in favour of the Lucknow decisions and only 20 against them.

### The National Party of Scotland

It was one of the oft-repeated jokes of the late Babu Motilal Ghosh, printed in his

paper after the annual St. Andrew's Day dinner, that as the Bengalis and the Scots were both subjects of Englishmen, the Scots in their annual celebration of that day ought to invite the Bengalis instead of the English. And sometimes some serious-minded son of Caledonia protested against Motilal Babu's insinuation that the Scotch were a subject people. But it seems he was right after all. For in a report of the proceedings of the inauguration demonstration of the National Party of Scotland, held in King's Park, Stirling, on the anniversary of the battle of Bannockburn (June 23), it is stated by Compton Mackenzie that the object of the Party is "the achievement of Scottish Independence without bitterness against England." R. B. Cunningham Graham, J. P., D. L. said at the meeting :—

We have substantial grievances. Scotland, to-day, is the most highly taxed per capita of all the nations of Europe. In proportion to the population we have more unemployed to-day in Scotland than there are in England. Every Autumn you see the sad spectacle of the emigration of the best bone and sinew of the Western Isles. And why? Because Scotland lies to-day legally under the heel of England, and every measure for the alleviation of Scottish grievances is legislated for, debated on, and decided by men who know no more of Scotland than I do of the Emperor of Korea. We must change all that. We must do something to wipe away the National disgrace under which we lie in regard to matters such as these. We want a National Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh in order to deal with Scottish measures under the eye and pressure of a Scottish electorate. (Applause.)

Another speaker said :—

We see in our own country here that over two millions of our population are condemned to live in houses of not more than two rooms. We see that unemployment in our own country is higher than in any other European country, and we ask ourselves, are any of the political parties, with their set doctrines and their policies prepared before they attack their problems, are any of these political parties doing anything whatever to alter those conditions? And the answer is most certainly "No."

The resolution passed at the meeting claimed "such powers of self-government as will ensure to Scotland independent National Status within the British group of Nations."

All this will suffice to show the viewpoint of the disinherited Scottish people who want to recover their birthright of freedom. On the other hand, Englishmen complain that they are really governed by Scots—and that not only in politics but, what is of greater importance, also in business. Whatever may be the case in other parts



of India, in Bengal the Jute Kings mostly hail from Caledonia stern and wild, meet nurse not so much nowadays for poetic children as for chiefs who prefer pelf to poetry.

In India the people are under the heels of Englishmen, Scots and the Irish equally. Without any discrimination against or in favour of any of them, they have all been allowed to rule and exploit the country. So Indians are unable to sympathise with the downtrodden Scots from any direct ocular or other evidence. All the same, they wish all success to the National Party of Scotland

### God save the King

On the Friday afternoon, the last day of the Lucknow All Parties Conference, the *Pioneer* sent the following telegram to Dr. Ansari, the President of the Conference:—"As the Conference has now accepted Dominion Status will you close proceedings by singing 'God Save the King?' Dr. Ansari replied:—"When India attains Dominion Status your suggestion might be considered. Meanwhile I hope you will join us in singing 'Bande Mataram.'" This reply is instructive. It goes far to prove that much of the talk of Indian politicians about Dominion Status is neither honourable nor honest nor sincere. The acceptance of the principle of membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations should be based almost entirely upon a whole-hearted belief in loyalty to the Crown. To refuse to sing "God Save the King" savours of the seditious.

Thus the *Pioneer*.

The question naturally arises: Were the Boers and Irish Free Staters required to sing "God save the King" before or even after obtaining internal autonomy? It is not known that they were. Why then this insolent suggestion, equivalent to a demand, in the case of Indians?

The utmost that may be expected of a people ruled by aliens is that they will be law-abiding. To demand more is to put a premium on hypocrisy and servility.

The *Pioneer's* demand has its droll side, too. Among the many accomplishments of Dr. Ansari, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai and other leaders, the ability to sing an English song in chorus is not believed to be one. So if in a fit of sweet obligingness they had sung the British national anthem, the noise would probably have been fit for the gods to hear, not human beings.

### Residences for High Officials

Questions asked in the Legislative Assembly by Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh relating to official residences in Simla have elicited the information that officers drawing salaries of Rs. 4,000 and 5,000 a month reside in furnished houses with tennis courts kept at the Government expense and free of house and ground taxes at rents between Rs. 1,150 to Rs. 1,430 per season of seven months, whilst subordinate officers have to pay much higher rent for inferior unfurnished houses. That is the way of the world. Friends of the poor, ill-housed, ill-fed railwaymen at Lilloah who struck, could not obtain any promise from the Government railway authorities that decent sanitary rooms would be provided for them at a fair rent. But higher railway employees have sometimes free quarters and sometimes furnished dwellings at moderate rents. The rule is to "pour oil on oily heads". These "small" grievances produce cumulative effects, sometimes called by the name of bloody revolutions.

### Musical Education in Bengal

We have received the following communication dealing with the question of musical instruction in Bengal which has given rise to so much controversy of late in the Calcutta Press.

To the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

Sir,

You must have noticed in the daily press the intensive campaign that is being carried on against the Vishnupur musicians of Bengal by certain persons who presume to be experts in classical Indian music. The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, at whose initiative these musical experts have come together to discuss the future policy of musical education in Bengal, is, like most English officials, practically innocent of indigenous cultural matters, and, as such, is likely to be bamboozled by anybody whose knowledge of classical Indian music may be nil but ability to use cultural technicalities with indiscriminate abandon great. Just as those who are the worst at business and shop-keeping are the ablest in "talking shop," so it is in music, in which the ablest in talking music are the greatest inflection when it comes to the practice of music. Unsuccessful artists have a knack of becoming great art



critics. The nature of the present controversy points to the shallowness of those who are taking a leading part in it. Let me explain.

The question has been raised whether in Bengal one should follow the Vishnupur style or the classical Hindustani style of music in the matter of school education. In this connection the names of Pandit Vishnunarayan Bhatkhande and Srijut Gopeswar Banerjee have been brought in, the first to be boosted to the skies and the second to be defamed in the worst fashion. I have taken a good deal of interest in classical Indian music for many years and have studied a little its theory and practice. I fail to understand what our learned musical talkers at the Writers' Buildings mean by differentiating the Vishnupur and the Hindusthani styles; for these styles are fundamentally and, also superficially in most respects, absolutely one and the same. Vishnupur, like Gwalior, Mysore, Lucknow or Hyderabad, is merely one of the centres of classical Hindustani or Indian Music. Of course, there may be points of mannerism and execution in which musicians of certain centres may show certain characteristics; but if the question of musical theory or education is raised, it is utterly imbecile to think that there are differences, worth the name, and the ink that is being spent to create the same. Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy, who is taking a leading part in this controversy (propaganda?), and his disciples are probably mixing up their likes and dislikes of individual musicians with differences of musical style. Style is too great a word to be used where one prefers the singing or the looks of one musician to those of another. Any one who has read the books of Bhatkhande and Banerjee would notice the great similarity between the method and theory followed by the two musicians. As to style of singing, Bhatkhande has none, for he does not sing very much and is only a theorist. Banerjee, on the other hand, is a finished singer, the Doric grandeur of whose execution of the great *Ragas* and *Raginis* has ever been a source of inspiration to the younger school of Bengali *Dhrupad* and *Kheyal* singers, to whom the contortions, shrieks, and *Sinhanada* indulged in by non-Bengali and some Bengali *Ustads* and pseudo-*ustads* have been a nightmare and a torture. Srijut Gopeswar Banerjee has written many books which have been acclaimed as scholarly and thorough, and the lessons

contained in his books are easily followed by all students. His pupils number in hundreds and though they may not come up to the expectations of Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy, they are bringing about a revival of *Dhrupad* and *Kheyal* in the field of Bengali music which has long been occupied by whining and long drawn *Kirtans*, rustic *Bauls*, *Ramprasadis* and *Bhatialis* and the songs of the modern stage dramatists of Bengal, which approached more the English Rag-time than the Indian *Raga*. By his ceaseless efforts and untiring school work S. J. Gopeswar Banerjee has kept the flame of classical music alive in Bengal. No one has greater knowledge of the musical *forte* and *foible* of the Bengali youth. I am surprised to see how insanely ungrateful we can be in Bengal. Instead of paying his due homage to S. J. Gopeswar Banerjee we are enjoying the sight of musical urchins pelting him with cheap insults, thereby injuring him and his art in the eye of the public of Bengal, who, unfortunately, take their cultural tips from the columns of certain rabid dailies in English and vernacular whose ignorance in all matters is surpassed only by their audacity. Among the critics of S. J. Banerjee, we find some whom we noticed singing out of tune and competing for school prizes only the other day. Then we shall leave on one side and proceed to the leader of the clique, Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy. Few men within recent memory have rivalled Mr. Roy in making indiscreet grabs at cultural *guruship*. His wise dissertations on European music, etc., which invited such merciless snubbing from Mon. Romain Rolland in *Current Thought* and *Prabuddha Bharata*; his dignified silence when mistakenly referred to in the Press as B. Musc and Doctor of Music, though he holds not even a diploma of any good, bad or indifferent musical institution; the slimness with which it has been made to appear that the article, entitled "The Function of Woman's Shakti in Society," published in *The Star* for July last, is "by Dilip-Kumars Roy"; etc; all go to militate against any view of Mr. Roy as an impartial, unbiassed and frank assessor of social and individual values. I should also like to point out here that, judging by either his career or his musical ability, one has no reason to accept Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy as an authority on styles of Indian Music. I have often listened to his singing, in which he



displays an amazing attachment to the easiest of *tals* and the cheapest of decorative melodies which are half *thumri* and half *kirtan*. If one day I could hear him execute a perfect *Alap* in *Sri Rag*, *Lalit* or *Multan* or sing faultlessly in *tal* to *Surfacta*, *Dhamar*, *Aratheka* or *Madhyaman* in pure *Dhrupad*, *Kheyal* or *Tappa-thumri* style, I should probably die of surprise and shame: surprise for reasons obvious and shame for having misjudged him.

Lastly, one word to the D. P. I., Bengal.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona  
Multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles  
Urgenter ignotique longa  
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

Bhatkhande is no doubt great; but let not those who have also served die unsung and unlamented; because a blind man does not sing of them.

Yours, etc.,  
Grasshopper

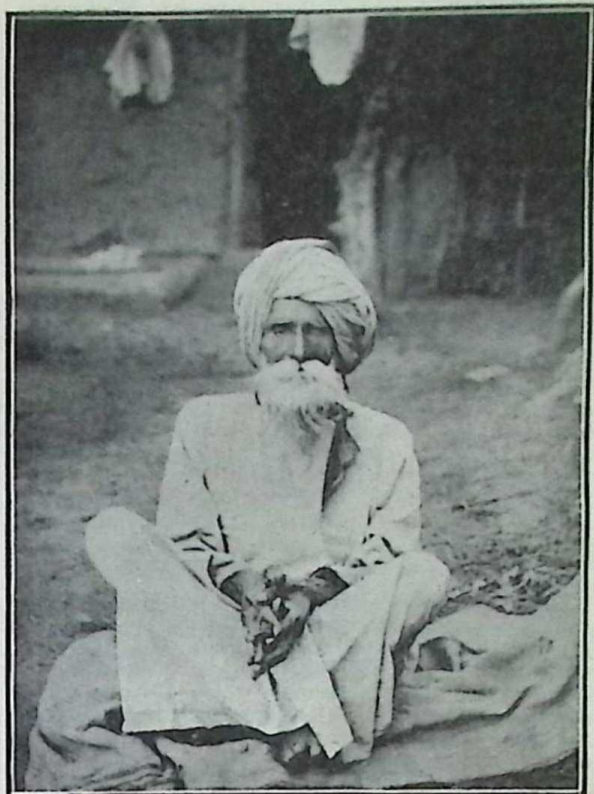
### Black hole in the Punjab

Shriyut Sundarlal of Allahabad has contributed an article on 'Black Hole in the

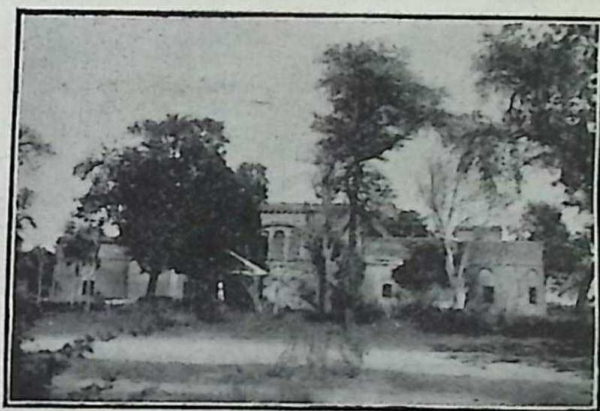


Kalyan-da-khuh, Ajnala the well in which  
282 dead bodies of Indian  
soldiers were thrown

Punjab' to the August number of *Vishal Bharat*. He has given extracts from Frederick Cooper's book 'The Crisis in the Punjab', which describes the awful tragedy in detail. The article is illustrated with the portrait of Baba Jagat Singh, who was an eye witness



Baba Jagatsing aged 100 years  
An eyewitness



Kalyan-da-Burz, Ajnala where 45 Indian  
soldiers died of suffocation due  
to want of air

of this terrible incident and two other photographs which are reproduced here.



### Professor Levi's Lecture at Madras

The lecture which Professor Sylvain Levi delivered at Madras under the auspices of the Sanskrit Academy contained a suggestion and an exhortation, indirectly conveyed, that Indian students should go to Japan, Java, Bali, etc., to study the cultural achievements of their ancestors. Some sentences from his lecture are quoted below.

He began his Sanskrit studies in 1881, and read some parts of *Mahabharata*. It happened, just as he was a beginner, some inscriptions came to be discovered in Cambodia and Indo-China. There were stones with enigmatic figures. It was found that they were Sanskrit words and not only Sanskrit, they were beautiful pieces of a Sanskrit Kavi. He had never heard that Indian Civilisation spread so far away from India. It was a work of poetry which was evidence of the intensity of Indian Culture in that far away Indo-China.

Regarding Japan he said :—

Last year, he visited the oldest temple in Japan and he heard there Buddhistic music with Sanskrit texts in Chinese characters. It was a beautiful stanza. He heard that that song had been sung in the 8th century by a Japanese monk who had been to China to learn a little of Sanskrit. In Japan, they could still find perhaps the oldest Indian song preserved.

The learned Professor added :—

His wonder was that, in visiting many countries in the East, he never met any Hindu student anywhere there. He noticed so many Indian students going to Oxford, Cambridge, London, etc., for studies. On the other hand, there was a side of Indian activities where India of a thousand years ago had been doing wonderful work, about which so few of Indians know anything. If some Indians would go there and start some research, they would get unexpected results. In Java, they found in the remotest villages statues of old Indian *murtis* such as Siva, Parvati and Ganesa. Even Mushms went there and offered puja every day with flowersexactly as in India. They had something like 250 images out from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. Rama and Sita were as familiar to them as to Hindus here. The old Javanese writings were written in a particular language called Kavihasha, full of Sanskrit words. What they knew of Bali was very little. The Dutch became masters of the Southern part of Bali only thirty years ago. A Dutch scholar went there for a short time in 1876, and he wrote a kind of Sanskrit literature in Bali, which was published in a Dutch paper, and then translated into English. He (the lecturer) went to Bali and found most cordial help from the Dutch authorities, who invited the local scholars to talk with him (the lecturer) and give him information. In that small island with a population of about a million, they had the same four castes as in India. They had two religions, one Saiva and the other Buddha living in harmony. The Pandits there were respectable people who knew not a word of Sanskrit. They had

forgotten Sanskrit for over a thousand years, but still they had translations of Sanskrit works. The morning service—Sandhya—was performed just as it was performed in India. They were Sanskrit verses, written fairly well, but in complicated metres. He (the lecturer) found a lot of scope for research in that small Island Bali.

It is indeed to be regretted that Indian students have not yet done any research work in the countries and islands of Asia where there are evidences of the intensity of Indian culture in ancient times. Professor Levi has done well to draw the attention of the Indian public to this field of work, though it is not one of which all Indian students have been entirely ignorant. Among the younger generation of Indian students of history Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Dr. Kalidas Nag have visited these Eastern lands. But they could not, in the absence of State, University or private research fellowships, stay anywhere long enough to start the work of independent research in right earnest. They have, however, given the benefit of their visit to the public by their speeches and writings. The poet Rabindranath Tagore has long felt the need of Indian students studying and doing research work in Indo-China, Java, and Bali in order that a complete history of India and Greater India may be written some day. It was in his company that Professors Kalidas Nag and Suniti Kumar Chatterjee travelled in some of these regions. If funds had been placed at his disposal by munificent lovers of Indian history and culture, he could have sent competent young scholars to study and work there for years. He has not given up his cherished project yet. It is just possible that with the help of a liberal patron of learning a competent scholar may yet be enabled to proceed to and stay in Java and Bali for a number of years.

So far as his own institution of Visva-bharati is concerned, all that may be learnt about Indian cultural enterprise and penetration abroad from Chinese and Tibetan sources is being slowly studied here in a small way by Indian students, as far as funds will permit. The small sum of Rs. 30 per mensem suffices to keep a student of Chinese or Tibetan here. There are surely Indians who can each found at least one such scholarship. Will they not do it ?



### Rangoon Ramakrishna Mission Sevashram

The Ramakrishna Mission Sevashrama at Rangoon has published its report for the year 1927. Having visited its charitable hospital, we can testify to its efficient management and great usefulness. The monks of the Ramakrishna Mission are devoted and competent workers and will be able to use all contributions received, however large or small, for the service of suffering humanity. They receive regular help in their work from highly qualified medical practitioners.

During the year 1927 the total attendance of patients at the Sevashram was 1,13,507. This exceeds the total of the previous year by 10,000. All these patients did not belong exclusively to the city of Rangoon; a considerable number of them came from the suburbs and from some remote districts of Burma. This fact goes to show the popularity and usefulness of the institution and to plead for further development of its resources in the future.

The activities of the Sevashram are not limited merely to medical treatment and nursing of the patients. They extend also to spreading among the people elementary principles of sanitation and hygiene by trying to instil into their minds the beneficial effects of prevention rather than the cure of diseases.

The number of patients admitted in the in-door department during the year under review was 1,616. The aggregate of the daily totals of attendance came upto 21,876; and the average daily attendance was 60. The average period of stay in the hospital in each case was 14 days. Some chronic cases, however, had to be kept for months.

At the Out-patients' department the total number of attendance came upto 91,631, including men, women and children.

### Some Indian States

According to *New India*, "it is well-known that some of the most leading States in India like Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Baroda have decided completely to stand out of the ring formed by Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Patiala, Bikanir and some others. The position of these dissentient states would seem to be that it is unwise and inexpedient for the Indian States to raise any such thorny question as has been raised by Sir Leslie Scott and re-echoed by Sir Manubhai Mehta." It may be interesting to note the population and revenues of these states.

State	Population	Revenue
Hyderabad	12,471,770	768 lakhs
Mysore	5,859,952	339 "
Travancore	4,006,062	221 "

States	Population	Revenue
Cochin	979,019	71 "
Baroda	2,126,522	237 "
Patiala	1,499,739	1285 "
Bikaner	659,685	915 "

One of the questions raised by the paid advocates of the Patiala group and the princes of the group is whether their states are in direct relations with the British Crown or with the Government of India. It is easy to see that it would be prudent for the British authorities to avoid giving a definite opinion on this point. If they were willing or, in any case, felt certain that they would have to accede to the demand for dominion status, they would no doubt be inclined to the view that the Indian states were in direct relations with the British Crown. For, by upholding this view they would be able to have a grip over a large part of India even after the passing of the government of British-ruled India into Indian hands. But if they do not feel that they *must* transfer power in India from English to Indian hands, they would not feel called upon to give any decision on the point and disturb the *status quo*, whatever that may be. And after all, as in British India, the police constable is the defacto master, so in the Indian States the princes are as a matter of fact, the heels of the local political officers of the Government of India,—whichever theory one may accept.

The Patiala group are unnecessarily working themselves up into something like fury and acting in such a way as to create bitterness in the minds of Indian leaders where none exists. For, the Nehru Committee's report has been very considerate and courteous to the Indian Princes. Its criticism is directed, not against them, but against Sir Leslie Scott, the counsel engaged by them. As the princes of the Patiala group are not fools, it should be easy for them to understand that no British bureaucrat, advocate or monarch can protect them from the working of world forces. The people of British-ruled India and the people of the Indian States, under the guidance of their leaders, have been trying to move with the times, whilst some Indian princes, represented by the Patiala group, are trying to stem the tide of the world forces. Those who have read history know what the result would be.



### Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Reply to the Maharaja of Bikanir

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's reply to the Maharaja of Bikanir's elaborate attack on the Nehru report is polite, dignified and effective. In concluding his reply,

Sir Tej Bahadur regretted that the perfectly friendly attitude of the Nehru Committee should have been misunderstood by His Highness. His Highness had failed to discriminate between friend and foe, allowing his mind to be affected by visions of disaster looming ahead or by suspicions wholly unfounded. Members of the Nehru Committee did not desire to encroach the on States' liberties or autonomy. On the contrary, they had been over-anxious to leave them absolutely intact. Unlike many critics of the Indian States, the Committee had not even suggested the introduction of democratic institutions, trusting to the growth of public opinion and the interplay of moral influence to have their natural effect. A sheltered existence, either for the Government of India or for any prince, however exalted, was becoming impossible in these days. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru hoped that when His Highness reviewed the recommendations in the proper perspective, he would realise that he had been somewhat precipitate and ungenerous in the expression of his opinion.

### Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao's Reply

Replying to the recent statements made by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir Manubhai Mehta, Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, President, All-India States Conference, made a statement to a representative of the Associated Press which begins thus :

There is no justification whatever for the complaint made by His Highness that "that political memories are notoriously short and that the services of himself and other princes in supporting the legitimate claims of India towards constitutional advance have not been sufficiently recognised in British India." This is not at all correct. We are aware of the great part played by him and other princes in the Imperial Conferences, the League of Nations and other world gatherings as representatives of India. In my speech as President of the All-India State People's Conference held in Bombay, I made specific reference to their services and to their patriotic advocacy of the cause of India's freedom and her status in the sisterhood of nations, as also to their speeches on various occasions pleading for the constitution of India as a self-governing dominion in the British Empire. The charge of ingratitude made by His Highness is, therefore, altogether baseless and after all, as he himself points out, every man has to do his duty to his country, gratitude or no-gratitude. It is a matter of gratification, therefore, to learn from His Highness that to his dying day it will be a matter of pride and gratification to him that he discharged his duties to his countrymen by help-

ing India in the direction of self-government. He further tells us that the princes had in their hands the opportunity to put a very real spoke in the wheels of political progress in India in 1919 and in the years following. That they abstained from doing so is a matter on which they are entitled to take full credit.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao makes a good hit when in reply to His Highness's demand for specific guarantees for the Indian States he says :

His Highness asks for specific guarantees in the declaration of rights as laid down in the Nehru Report, and I would suggest for his consideration and the consideration of others of his order, the desirability of issuing a declaration of rights for the people of the states. He will then realise what magic effect it will have in securing the support and loyalty of the people to their rulers and their causes.

### Professor Sylvain Levi in Calcutta

After a short stay in Rabindranath's Santiniketan, Professor and Madame Levi proceeded to Nepal, and, spending about a fortnight there, returned to Calcutta towards the beginning of September. During their short stay in Calcutta, Prof. Levi visited several academic and cultural associations of the city, and his friends and pupils also had the rare joy of meeting him on the eve of his return home.

#### RECEPTION AT THE INDO-LATIN SOCIETY

The members of the Indo-Latin Society assembled at the hall of the Asutosh Building, Calcutta University, to receive the distinguished guests, and the Vice-Chancellor, Rev. Dr. Urquhart, accorded them a warm welcome. Dr. Subodh Chandra Mukerjee, M. A., D. Litt. (Paris), delivered a neat speech in French on the value of the cultural relationship between India and France as the representative of Latin culture. Prof. Levi in reply delivered a profound discourse on the universal basis of human culture and pointed out how a nation's contribution is finally evaluated in terms of the services it has rendered to Humanity. From this point of view Latin genius and its modern representative France had played a grand role in history and he was happy to find that Indian scholars were beginning to appreciate the same. He felt that India was growing on diverse new lines of great possibility and he paid in that connection a glowing tribute to

RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY,

The Father of Modern India. Ram Mohun,



said Prof. Levi, was one of the most remarkable personalities of his age. While representing all that was best in Indian tradition, he showed his special genius in a line where the Indians of to-day are weakest—in translating into practice by the force of will the dictates of idealism. Not satisfied with merely ascertaining the ideal, Ram Mohun fought, with phenomenal heroism against desperate odds, to realise his ideal. If India to-day wanted any model to shape her present destiny and future history Ram Mohun should be that model. He was really the first to bring modern India abreast of universal history. A profound scholar in Sanskrit and Brahmanical lore, the Rajah's unbounded intellectual curiosity and insatiable thirst for the discovery of the fundamental unity of the human mind, drove him to study the ancient Hebrew, Arabic and Persian literatures. Ever drawn towards France and a finished scholar in Persian as he was, Ram Mohun might have come in touch with the great French Orientalist Eugene Burnouf (search should be made into Burnouf and other French archives) and also with those who were editing the Avesta at that time. His philological acumen, the rare universality of his outlook and the courtesy he showed towards his Indian as well as European contemporaries opposed to his views, go to make him a great man "in the real sense of the term."

#### LEVI ON GREATER INDIA

Prof. Levi then described his recent tour through Java and Bali just before coming over to India. The most striking achievement of Ancient India was the building up of Greater India. Even after over eight centuries of separation and nearly five centuries of Islamic domination, these cultural colonies are still retaining their Hindu character and it was high time that Indian scholars paid their best attention to this department of history. He could within the short time that he was in Bali transcribe many of the mantras (in corrupt Sanskrit) uttered by the *Pedandas* or Brahmin priests of Bali and he found the Balinese boys in the schools playing the question and answer game relating to the Mahabharata! Unexpected questions like "Who was the Father of Pandu?" etc., were asked and it had to be replied to promptly. Prof. Levi expressed his hope that historical and archaeological missions would be sent to those parts

regularly from Indian universities and learned societies.

#### PROF. LEVI AT THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

The evening previous to his departure from Calcutta, there was a representative gathering at the invitation of the Greater India Society, Calcutta. Pandit Durgacharan Samkhya-Vedantatirtha, the President of the Sanskrita Sahitya Parishad, presided over it and in the absence of Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, M. A., C. I. E., the President of the Society, Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, the Advocate General of Bengal, welcomed Prof. and Madame Sylvain Levi. Mr. Van Manen, Secretary Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Prof. Taraporewalla. Mr P. Chowdhury and others spoke eloquently on the achievements of Levi as an Indologist, and Mrs. K. N. Chowdhury, representing the ladies of Bengal, paid a warm tribute to Madame Levi whose exemplary devotion and constant watchfulness alone enabled the Professor, said Mrs. Chowdhury, to do so much work of enduring value. Mrs. Priyambada Devi, the talented poetess, then offered the humble presents of the Society—Murshidabad silk and a few utensils of Bengal—to the guests and a Sanskrit address was presented to the professor under the joint auspices of the Sanskrita Sahitya Parishad and the Brihattara Bharata Parishad followed by eloquent extempore speeches in Sanskrit.

The Honorary Secretary finally explained the origin of the Greater India movement and showed how much it owed to the inspiring examples of Prof. Levi, whose whole life was consecrated to the reconstruction of Greater Indian history and that it was a rare fortune for the members of the Society to have that chance of entertaining Prof. and Madame Levi in their midst.

Prof. Levi in reply, a polyglot that he was, spoke first in French, then in English and finally in Sanskrit to the great joy of the audience. He thanked the ladies and gentlemen for their kind words and blessed the young band of workers of the Society who were trying to awaken the interest of the world in the history of Greater India. He assured all help, as the President of the Asiatic Society of Paris, and wished all success to the Greater India Society. He was presented with the publications of the Society and was elected its Honorary Member.

Professor and Madame Levi left *via* Madras



for Colombo and will resume their activities in Paris after two years of strenuous work in Japan and the Far East.

### The Patiala Interview

The following are extracts from an interview "granted" (or sought) by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala to Reuter's representative at Montreux :—

They were profoundly convinced that the paramount and uniting influence of Britain was the one link between British India and the Indian States.

The Princes, he declared, did not desire to add to the difficulties of the progress of British India towards self-government, and wished nothing more than to live in harmony with British India and to co-operate with its Government in promoting the progress of the whole of India.

"It is most regrettable", he said, "that the All-Parties' Conference did not reciprocate our attitude of friendliness, but went out of its way to settle our future without consulting us. The time has, therefore, come for us to make clear what our political relations are with the British Crown, with which our ancestors entered into engagements which we are proud to honour, and that we and our people will never submit to be governed by British India over many parts of which our States formerly held sway.

"The proposals of the All-Parties' Conference have only strengthened our unalterable determination to safeguard at the cost of any sacrifice our separate political existence.

"While we offer friendly co-operation with British India we and our people will not tolerate for an instant British-Indian dictation.

"The great majority of Indian States are appealing to Britain to rectify the present position before it is too late and recognise in any future scheme of governance of India that British India and Indian States are two entirely different entities between whom it is the responsibility of Britain to see fair play."

The Maharaja added that the Princes were entirely unanimous in holding that the present system invariably, in the last resource, sacrificed the interests of States to the interest of British India. They had yet to arrive at complete unanimity in regard to the best remedy for the difficulties. Very many of them believe that the solution would be along Federal lines.

They were endeavouring to devise a scheme which would secure the participation of States in All-India affairs but which would leave the States and British India alike free to pursue their own lines of development in domestic affairs.

The Maharaja will get a reply from the All-Parties leaders. In the meantime it may be asked whether the bonds of race, language, religion, country and culture are not connecting links between the Indian States and British-ruled India. When Britain did not exist as one entity, when Britons

roamed in the woods in a state of savagery, when the civilized traders from Britain had not set foot on Indian soil, when these traders had not become rulers of India—during all these periods there were links between the people of different parts of India. But, in the opinion of the Maharaja at present none of these links exist; the one only link is British paramountcy or India's bondage. It is much to be regretted that this potentate is not free from the snobbery and servility from which many plebeian Indians are free and that he does not possess the national pride and national self respect which they possess.

The leaders of British India also wished to live in harmony with the princes and people of the Indian States.

The All-Parties' Conference knows that it has no power to settle the future of the Indian States. It has only drafted a scheme. The objections and wishes of the princes and the people of the States are sure to be noted and proper action taken. The conference *did* consult representatives of the people of the States. Had it asked the princes to send their representatives to it, would they have condescended to do so? We trow not.

The Maharajas and their people will, of course, never submit to be governed by British India over many parts of which their States formerly held sway. But the people of British India and their leaders have never desired to govern the Indian States. So, so far as these people are concerned, the Maharaja's bravado was superfluous. But British India also means the white men who constitute the Government of India. The princes have to submit to be domineered over by the white residents and political agents appointed by the Government of India. Such submission must be taken to increase the political stature of the princes.

As to the arrogant reminder that the princes held sway over many parts of British India, that must be taken by us as meant to be a great compliment. We may return the compliment by reminding the Maharaja that men of his class have often to be greater slaves to Britishers than the direct subjects of Britain.

No responsible Indian person in British India has sought to destroy the "separate political existence" of the Indian States or subject them to "British Indian dictation." Uncalled for bravado again, therefore.



The Maharaja wants Britain to have for ever the responsibility (and the power) to see fairplay between the Indian states and the British provinces. This exactly echoes the wish and opinion of British and Anglo-Indian diehards. If His Highness had not been a Maharaja, he would have been made a Rai Sahib for the resonant quality of his mind.

"Federal lines" have not been dismissed by the All-parties' conference, nor are they inconsistent with its report.

The leaders in British India also want to devise a scheme which would secure the participation of States in All-India affairs but which would leave the states and British India alike free to pursue their own lines of development in domestic affairs. But the Maharaja should understand that the people of India cannot agree to the participation of autocratic Princes in all-India affairs. The princes should come as the freely chosen representatives and servants of their people. When a really independent king like His Majesty Amanullah Khan has called himself the servant of his people and has conferred civic and political rights on them, the non-independent rulers of the Indian states should be able to see the wisdom and propriety of being the real servants of their people.

### Indian States Subjects Deputation to England

The Indian states' subjects deputation to England is a timely move. The government and people of Britain ought to know their case. The Maharajas' case is different from theirs.

### Jaipur People's Open Letter to Viceroy

A printed copy of "an open letter to His Excellency the Viceroy of India" has been sent to us from Jaipur, Rajputana, by Mr. A. K. J. Lall. "I need not tell you," says he in a printed covering letter, "how much the people of Jaipur are oppressed and harassed by foreign officials of the State who have no stake in Jaipur." The very first words of the letter proper are, "We the oppressed and humble subjects of the Jaipur State"

This open letter, dated August 3, 1928, enumerates many grievances and prays for enquiry and redress. It complains of un-

employment and depression in all branches of trade, and "non-safety of the lives and properties of the people." Representations have gone unheeded. Vast sums are spent on roads, electrification, polo grounds, etc., but no care is taken to improve the condition of the agriculturists, or to develop trade and industries. State banks, agricultural banks and co-operative societies do not exist. About half the total revenues of the state are swallowed up by the Public Works Department, but no amount worth the name is spent on compulsory education. The Administration Report is kept confidential. Comparatively cheaper Jaipur talent has been ignored and less competent non-Jaipurians with exorbitant salaries have been imported. What is worse, poorly paid and efficient Jaipurians have been turned out to make room for costly outsiders, of which fact an example is given.

Jaipurians are not taught or given any chance to utilize the abundant mineral resources of the state. P. W. D., Excise and other contracts are given to outsiders.

During the time of His Highness the late Maharaja (the present one is a minor) state money was utilized by local businessmen. But under the present British administration a branch of the Imperial Bank has been opened, into which all state monies thus becoming unavailable to local businessmen. The establishment of a state bank would have been the proper thing to do.

Though the expenditure of the police department in salaries alone has gone up four times, crimes have increased abnormally. "The number of goondas has greatly increased and the honour of women and children of respectable citizens is without any protection."

"No draft legislations are placed before the public." The condition of the bar is pitiable.

These are some of the grievances narrated in the open letter. The memorialists want a legislative assembly with three-fourths of the members elected by the public, presentation of the draft budget to it for sanction, the city municipality to consist of elected members only, a regular scheme of revenue boards and municipalities for districts and towns with elected bodies, immediate separation of revenue, judicial and executive functions, Jaipurians only to be taken into the State service, removal of the bar on printing presses and public meetings, establishment of a state bank, appointment



of a public commission to enquire into trade depression and unemployment, and the making of primary education compulsory throughout the state.

It is not known whether this open letter reached His Excellency the Viceroy and what action, if any, he took on it. The grievances stated therein are serious enough to deserve a thorough enquiry.

By way of elucidating the state of things in Jaipur, a recent appointment in the Jaipur Maharaja's College may be mentioned. It is said that, more than one first class M. A. in two subjects, besides other holders of Master's degrees, (for example, Professor M. R. Oak, a first class M.A. in philosophy and also in English) have been serving for years with credit and efficiency. But the principal's post having recently fallen vacant, a gentleman has been imported from outside to fill this office who passed his B. A. in the second division and his M. A. in the third division and served as professor in the Dera Ismail Khan D. A.-V. Intermediate College. He gets Rs. 500 as principal and Rs. 150 as officiating Director of Public Instruction. If our information be correct, the appointment of this gentleman is a mystery.

### Abhoy Ashram

The creed of the Abhoy Ashram, given in its annual report for 1927, is "self-realisation through the service of the Motherland," and its seven vows are, those of fearlessness, of truth, of love, of non-stealing, of activity, of purity, and of patriotism. The report gives the history of the Ashram, its constitution and the creed. It has adopted the following programme of work :—

1. To preach the gospel of nationalism all over the country, absence of this spirit being the main cause of our political serfdom.
2. To promote Hindu-Muslim unity based on the consciousness of common nationalism.
3. To remove untouchability, hereditary caste distinction and other social evils, as are irreligious and opposed to the growth of Indian nationhood.
4. To develop hand-spinning and hand-weaving with a view to remove mass unemployment and chronic poverty; to stop foreign exploitation and economic slavery; thus preparing the country for the struggle of Swaraj.
5. To spread education on national lines, with a view to awaken mass consciousness and train up a band of national volunteers.

In pursuance of the above programme its activities have been classified under the heads of Charkha and Khaddar, medical work, removal of untouchability and hereditary

caste, national education, dairy and agriculture, and other correlated activities.

To show that *Khadi* adds to the income of and carries a message of hope to the poor, the report gives the following figures of distribution of remuneration during 1927 :—

(a) Weavers	...	Rs 28,500
(b) Spinners	...	27,000
(c) Ladies for embroidery work	...	1,736
(d) Washermen	...	3,233
(e) Tailors	...	6,056

Total Rs. 66,525

The Khadi department of the Ashram has 63 whole-time workers in 20 production and sale centres.

During the year under report the Dyeing Department has been successful in bringing about further improvement in dyeing and printing. The Department has now under construction a Chemical Laboratory. With its completion and necessary equipment, Ashram dyeing and printing is sure to achieve further and rapid progress. In the rich variety of the stuff, its growing adaptability to varied tastes and in the improvement of dye and print, is amply demonstrated the potentiality of Bengal Khadi to be well nigh immense.

Its medical work is carried on by means of an out-door dispensary, an indoor hospital, a medical school, and a Seva Samiti. The medical school is residential. Its object is to train up a band of national medical missionaries, who, after the completion of a four years' course, are expected either to become members of the Ashram or to settle in different parts of the country. The number of students is at present 20 and they are all kept free. In admitting students preference is given to candidates belonging to the so-called depressed classes.

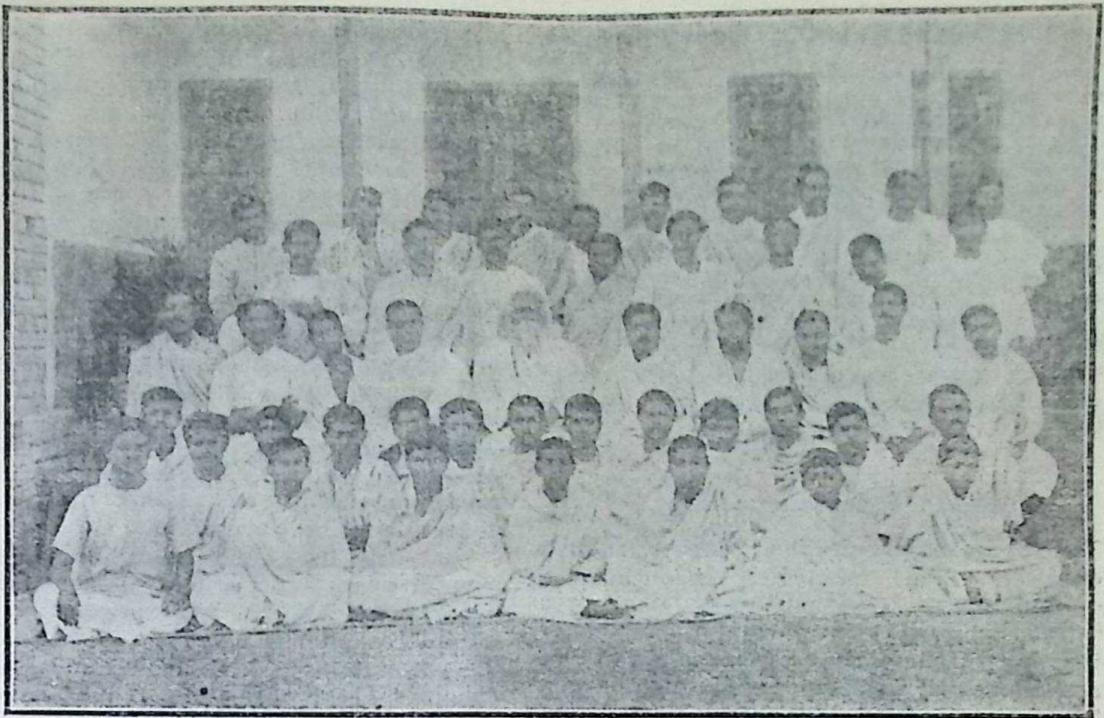
The members of the Ashram, giving up the special privileges due to the accident of birth, have abjured caste both in practice and profession.

The eradication of the evil of untouchability and caste, eating into the vitals of the Hindu society and a blot upon its fair face, has been an article of faith with the Ashram; and unrelenting are the efforts of the Ashram at its removal. Apart from the Ashram itself, scrupulous non-observance of caste is enforced even in the Indoor Hospital. There patients, at meal time, irrespective of castes, are seated in the same line and partake of the food cooked and served by a Namasudra. With a view to remove hereditary caste distinction, inter-caste dinners are occasionally arranged in which Brahmins and the lowliest of the lowly, the Methars, are seated side by side in the same line.

With the same end in view Primary Schools are being started in villages among the so-called depressed classes.

In addition to the Sikshayatan in the





Workers of the Comilla Abhay Ashram with S. J. Rabindranath Tagore

Ashram premises in Comilla, its headquarters, there are at present seven primary schools, mostly in adjacent villages.

At present it produces about half its requirement of rice in its own fields, and some vegetables in its gardens hardly sufficient to meet its needs. It has also the nucleus of a dairy with 9 milch cows. Friends of the institution can greatly facilitate its work by helping it to buy more land and more milch cows.

It has a library in the town of Comilla and another in the Ashram premises with a free reading-room. It held monthly meetings for discourses on religious, political and literary subjects in the Mahesh Prangan, a spacious covered quadrangle given to Comilla by Babu Mahesh Chandra Bhattacharya, the richest and most public-spirited merchant of that town.

For carrying on its work in various directions, the Ashram requires pecuniary and other kinds of help, which it richly deserves.

#### Sanguinary Riots at Khargpur, Godhar, Etc

Not unoften has it been observed that successful efforts made by the different

communities in India to compose their differences have been followed almost immediately by bloody riots between some of them. These are generally ascribed to the innate cussedness of our people or to Accident. If these hypotheses be correct, there must be great method in our cussedness and in Accident. Perhaps Accident is a deity like the Greek deity named Nemesis. In that case it would be prudent to propitiate this deity by offerings like those made at the shrines of the goddesslings of small pox, cholera, influenza, etc. But the previous question is, where are the Accident temples to be built and who are to be its priests? Should they be located in or away from the imperial and provincial capitals? Should the priests have nothing to do with those entrusted with the duty of maintaining law and order?

#### Contribution to League of Nations

GENEVA, SEPT. 26.

Lord Lytton, speaking at the Assembly, protesting against the increased League expenditure, said there was nothing in the present circumstances to justify an exceptional expenditure. Increase was caused by inadequacy and defective nature of the method of controlling and limiting spending. India



found it very difficult to justify the increased contribution.

There was a widespread view in India that the League was not of much value to the Eastern countries and its tendency was definitely in the direction of strengthening the European interests at the expense of other countries and races.

He reminded the Assembly that the question was often discussed in India whether the membership of the League was really worth the price and feared that time might come when the Government of India would find it impossible to answer in the affirmative. He felt bound to protest on behalf of the Indian delegation which was profoundly dissatisfied with the year's budget.—"Reuter."

In the views expressed in the above telegram Lord Lytton has voiced the opinion of India.

### Afghan Independence Day

Ten years ago, on the 26th of August, Afghanistan won complete independence. The anniversary of that great day was recently celebrated at Paghman, the summer capital of Afghanistan. In reply to an address presented to King Amanullah Khan, His Majesty made some observations, from which some sentences are culled below.

"I wish all of you to be independent externally as well as internally. I cannot here repeat the assurances I have already given you that I would sacrifice my very life in your service and in keeping Afghanistan independent."

Indians should ponder deeply over the words we have italicised above.

Addressing the Afghans assembled in front of him, King Amanullah observed:

"Independence has to day raised your status not only in this world but also in the next."

### Amanullah's Reforms

The *Jirgha* or grand assembly convened by King Amanullah has arrived at certain decisions under his guidance. All ceremonial uniforms and dress are to be abolished, and all officials, including the King and Queen, are to be addressed in correspondence as "My dear—." Possessors of medals can keep them as souvenirs, but are not to be allowed to wear and flaunt in public medals other than those awarded for military service. Deoband in North India is a noted centre of Islamic theological teaching. His Afghan Majesty has evidently found men trained there undesirable specimens of humanity. So it has been decided that "all Deoband Ulemas should be turned out of the country and

not allowed to re-enter Afghanistan, owing to the likelihood of there being foreign propagandists among them." Afghan Ulemas returning from Deoband are to be kept under observation for a period. Government servants will not be eligible for election to the Afghan National Assembly, and perhaps will not be nominated to it. Amanullah has adopted a good plan for preventing corruption among officials. When they enter Government service, lists are to be made of their property, and accounts are to be kept subsequently of their income and expenditure. Perhaps what is aimed at is that, if an official's accumulated wealth be found inordinate according to these lists and accounts, he may be prosecuted either for misappropriation of public funds or for accepting bribes, or both.

It may be stated here incidentally that several years ago a high officer of a certain department asked the present writer to publicly challenge a certain Minister to state the amounts of his debts and his bank balances, (1) at the time of his appointment and (2) on the date in question when the officer had been in service for an appreciable period, and to explain how he had been able to wipe off his debts and amass so much wealth, his salary and other legitimate incomes being what they were.

### Our November Number

Owing to the ensuing Durga Puja Holidays, our November Number will be published and mailed earlier than usual, that is, on the 20th. of October current.

### Our Durga Puja Holidays

Our account of the Durga Puja Holidays the office of *The Modern Review* will remain closed from the 22nd October to the 4th November, both days inclusive. Orders for the magazine and our other publications, letters communicating changes of address, literary contributions, etc., received during this period will be dealt with after the re-opening of the office.

### ERRATA

M. R., Oct. P. 447 Col. 1 line 4 *for thy read*  
 " " " " 10 " *at read*  
 " " " " 28 " *others' read*  
 " " " " " *others,*